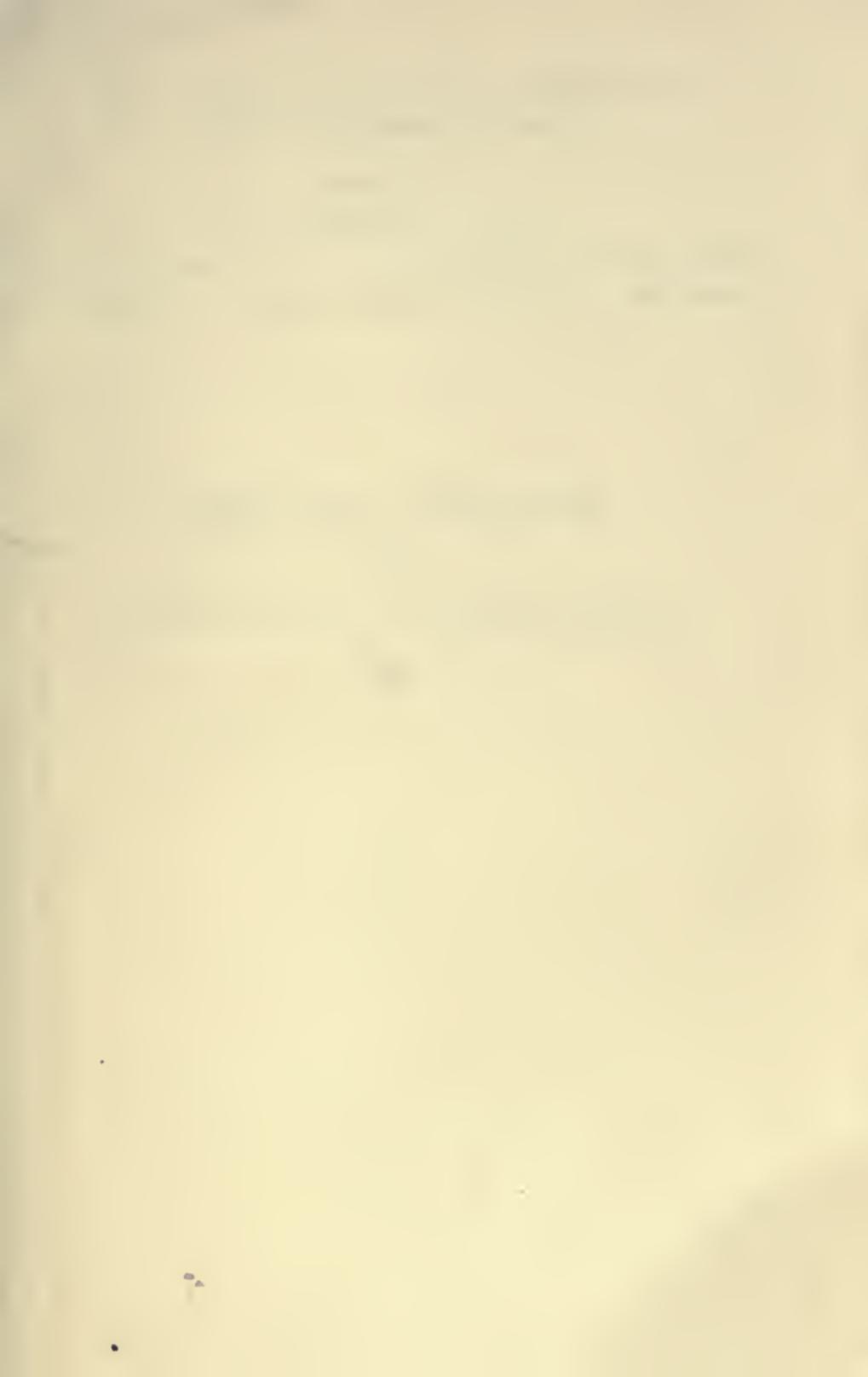


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THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

OF

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

VI

THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
EARNEST CARY, PH.D.

ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF
EDWARD SPELMAN

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VI



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CONTENTS

	PAGE
BOOK IX (CHS. 25-71)	2
BOOK X	162
INDEX	370

THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
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ΔΙΟΝΤΣΙΟΥ
ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ
ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ
ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΝΑΤΟΣ

XXV. Τῷ δ' ἔξῆς ἔτει περὶ τὰς θερινὰς μάλιστα τροπὰς Σεξτίλιον μηνὸς παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατείαν ἄνδρες ἐμπειροι πολέμων Σερούιός¹ τε Σερούιλιος καὶ Αὐλος Οὐεργύνιος, οὓς ὁ πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς πόλεμος καίτοι μέγας καὶ χαλεπὸς ὥν χρυσὸς² ἐφαίνετο παρὰ τὸν ἐντὸς τείχους ἐξεταζόμενος. ἀσπόρου γὰρ τῆς χώρας ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι χειμῶνι διὰ τὸν ἐπιτειχισμὸν τοῦ πλησίον ὄρους καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς καταδρομὰς γενομένης, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἔτι τὰς ἔξωθεν ἐπεισαγόντων ἀγοράς, σπάνις ἴσχυρὰ σίτου τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσχε μεστὴν οὖσαν ὅχλου τοῦ τε κατοικιδίου καὶ τοῦ συνερρυθμού³ κότος ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἥβῃ πολιτῶν

¹ Σπόριος Gelenius.

² χρυσὸς Ba : χρηστὸς R.

¹ For chaps. 25 f. cf. Livy ii. 51, 4–52, 1.

² 474 B.C. Livy's date for these consuls is 477. See note on i. 32, 5.

³ The MSS. all give the praenomen as Servius both here and in the next chapter.

THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
BOOK IX

XXV. The following year,¹ about the summer solstice,² in the month of August, Servius³ Servilius and Aulus Verginius succeeded to the consulship, both being men of experience in warfare. To them the Tyrrhenian war, though great and difficult, seemed pure gold⁴ in comparison with the conflict inside the city walls. For since the land had gone unsown the preceding winter because the enemy had fortified the adjacent hill⁵ against them and had kept up incessant raids, and since not even the merchants any longer imported the usual provisions from outside, Rome suffered from a great scarcity of corn, as the city was then crowded not only with its permanent population, but also with a multitude that had flocked thither from the country. For of adult

and in chap. 28; but we should probably read Spurius, the form found in Livy, Cassiodorus and Diodorus. A Spurius Servilius Priscus was censor a century later.

⁴ See note on i. 57, 2.

⁵ The Janiculum; see ix. 24.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ὑπὲρ τὰς ἔνδεκα μυριάδας ἥσαν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἔγγιστα τιμήσεως εύρεθη, γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ παιδῶν καὶ τῆς οἰκετικῆς θεραπείας ἐμπόρων τε καὶ τῶν¹ ἐργαζομένων τὰς βαναύσους τέχνας μετοίκων (οὐδεὶν γὰρ ἔξῆν 'Ρωμαίων οὔτε κάπηλον οὔτε χειροτέχνην βίον ἔχειν) οὐκ ἐλαττον ἢ τριπλάσιον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους· οὓς οὐκ ἦν παραμυθήσασθαι ῥάδιον ἀγανάκτοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ συντρέχοντας εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ καταβοῶντας τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλεσιν ἐπί τε τὰς οἰκίας τῶν πλουσίων κατὰ πλῆθος ὡθουμένους καὶ διαρπάζειν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἄτερ ὡνῆς
 3 τὰς ἀποκειμένας αὐτοῖς² τροφάς. οἱ δὲ δῆμαρχοι συνάγοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ κατηγοροῦντες τῶν πατρικίων ὡς αἰεί τι κακὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς πένησι μηχανωμένων καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτε δεινὰ συνέβη³ κατὰ τὴν ἀτέκμαρτόν τε καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἀνθρώποις τύχην ἔκείνων ἔργα λέγοντες, ὑβριστὰς εἶναι πι-
 4 κροὺς ἔξειργάσαντο. τοιούτοις συνεχόμενοι κακοῖς οἱ ὑπατοι πέμπουσι⁴ τοὺς συνωνησομένους σῖτον ἐκ τῶν σύνεγγυς τόπων μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τὸν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἔταξαν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀναφέρειν τοὺς εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον πλείονα τοῦ μετρίου παραθεμένους, τιμὴν ὁρίσαντες ἀποχρώσαν. ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ μηχανώμενοι τοιαῦτα ἐπέσχον τῶν πενήτων τὰς παρανομίας καὶ ἀναστροφὴν ἔλαβον τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς.

XXVI. 'Επεὶ δ' αἱ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἐβράδυνον ἀγοραί, τὰ δ' ἐντὸς τείχους τροφῆς ἔχόμενα πάντα κατανάλωτο, ἀποστροφὴ δὲ τῶν κακῶν οὐδεμίᾳ ἦν

¹ τῶν R : om. B, Jacoby.

² αὐτοῖς A : ἐν αὐτοῖς B.

³ συνέβη C, by correction : om. R.

⁴ πέμπουσι ACmg : ὥστε BC.

citizens there were more than 110,000, as appeared by the latest census ; and the number of the women, children, domestics, foreign traders and artisans who plied the menial trades—for no Roman citizen was permitted to earn a livelihood as a tradesman or artisan—was not less than treble the number of the citizens. This multitude was not easy to placate ; for they were exasperated at their misfortune, and gathering together in the Forum, clamoured against the magistrates, rushed in a body to the houses of the rich and endeavoured to seize without payment the provisions that were stored up by them. In the meantime the tribunes assembled the people, and by accusing the patricians of always contriving some mischief against the poor, and calling them the authors of all the evils which had ever happened at the caprice of Fortune, whose whims men can neither foresee nor guard against, they inspired them with insolence and bitter resentment. The consuls, beset by these evils, sent men with large sums of money to the neighbouring districts to purchase corn, and ordered all those who had stored up more than a moderate amount of corn for their own subsistence to turn it over to the state ; and they fixed a reasonable price for it. By these and many other like expedients they put a stop to the lawless actions of the poor and thus got respite for their preparations for war.

XXVI. But when the provisions from outside were slow in coming and all the food supplies in the city had been consumed and there was no other means of averting the evils but to choose one of two courses

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

έτέρα, ἀλλὰ δυεῦν θάτερον ἔχρην, ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους
 ἐκβαλεῦν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπάσῃ δυνάμει παρακινδυ-
 νεύσαντας ἢ τειχήρεις μένοντας ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τε καὶ
 στάσεως διαφθαρῆναι, τὸ κουφότερον αἴρούμενοι
 τῶν κακῶν ἔγνωσαν ὅμόσε χωρεῦν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν
 2 πολεμίων δεινοῖς. προαγαγόντες δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις
 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως περὶ μέσας νύκτας διέβησαν τὸν
 ποταμὸν ἐπὶ σχεδίαις καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν
 γενέσθαι πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων κατεστρατοπέ-
 δευσαν. τῇ δ' ἔξῆς ἡμέρᾳ προελθόντες ἔταξαν ὡς¹
 εἰς μάχην τὸν στρατόν. εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν τῶν
 κεράτων Οὐεργίνιος, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον Σερουτίλιος.
 3 ἰδόντες δ' αὐτοὺς εὐτρεπεῖς ὅντας οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ πρὸς
 τὸν ἄγωνα σφόδρα ἔχάρησαν, ὡς ἐνὶ τῷ τότε
 κινδύνῳ κατὰ νοῦν χωρήσαντι τὴν Ῥωμαίων καθ-
 ελοῦντες ἀρχήν, εἰδότες ὅτι πᾶν ὅσον ἦν κράτιστον
 στρατιωτικὸν αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν ἄγωνα ἐκεῖνον ὥρμητο,
 καὶ δι' ἐλπίδος ἔχοντες, ἐν ᾧ πολὺ τὸ κοῦφον ἦν,
 ῥᾳδίως αὐτῶν κρατήσειν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν μετὰ Μενηνίου
 δύναμιν ἐν δυσχωρίαις παραταξαμένην σφίσιν ἐνίκη-
 σαν. γενομένης δ' ἴσχυρᾶς καὶ πολυχρονίου μάχης,
 πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντες Ῥωμαίων πολλῷ δ'
 ἔτι πλείονας τῶν σφετέρων ἀποβαλόντες, ἀνεχώ-
 4 ρουν βάδην² ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα. ὁ μὲν οὖν Οὐεργίνιος
 τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων οὐκ εἴα διώκειν τοὺς σφετέ-
 ρους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ κατορθώματι μένειν, ὁ δὲ Σερ-
 ουτίλιος ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ θατέρου κέρως ἔδιώκε-
 τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπόμενος ἄχρι πολλοῦ. ὡς δ' ἐν
 τοῖς μετεώροις ἐγένετο, ὑποστρέψαντες οἱ Τυρρηνοί,
 καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιβοηθησάντων, ἐνσείου-
 σιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ δ' ὀλίγον τινὰ δεξάμενοι χρόνον

¹ ὡς B : om. R.

² βάδην B : om. R.

—either to hazard an engagement with all their forces, in order to drive the enemy out of the country, or by remaining shut up within their walls to perish both by famine and by sedition—they chose the lesser of these evils and resolved to go forth to meet the perils from the enemy. Marching out of the city, therefore, with their forces, they crossed the river about midnight on rafts, and before it was broad daylight encamped near the enemy. The next day they came out of their camp and drew up their army for battle, Verginius commanding the right wing and Servilius the left. The Tyrrhenians, seeing them ready for the contest, rejoiced greatly, believing that by this single battle, if it turned out according to their wish, they would overthrow the empire of the Romans ; for they knew that all their foe's best soldiery was entered in this contest, and they entertained the hope, which was very ill founded, of defeating them with ease, since they had conquered the troops of Menenius when these had been arrayed against them in a disadvantageous position. But after a sharp and protracted battle, in which they killed many of the Romans but lost many more of their own men, they began to retreat gradually toward their camp. Verginius, who commanded the right wing, would not permit his men to pursue the enemy, but urged them to rest content with the advantage they had gained ; Servilius, however, who was posted on the other wing, pursued the foes who had faced him, following them for a long distance. But when he reached the heights, the Tyrrhenians faced about and, those in the camp coming to their aid, they fell upon the Romans. These, after receiving their attack for a short time, turned their backs

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

έγκλίνουσι τὰ νῶτα καὶ κατὰ τοῦ λόφου διωκό-
5 μενοι σποράδες ἀπώλλυντο. μαθὼν δὲ Οὐεργίνιος
ἐν οἷαις ἦν τύχαις ἡ τὸ ἀριστερὸν κέρας κατέχουσα
στρατιά, πᾶσαν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τάξει πλαγίαν
ἥγε διὰ τοῦ ὄρους ὁδόν. γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ νῶτου
τῶν διωκόντων τοὺς σφετέρους, μέρος μέν τι ταύτη
καταλείπει τῆς στρατιᾶς κωλύσεως ἐνεκεν τῶν ἐκ
τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιβοηθησόντων, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς
ἄγων ἐπεφέρετο τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ
οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Σερουϊλίου θαρσήσαντες τῇ παρουσίᾳ
τῶν σφετέρων ὑποστρέφουσί τε καὶ καταστάντες
ἐμάχοντο. κυκλωθέντες δ' ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ
καὶ οὕτε πρόσω διεκπορευθῆναι δυνάμενοι διὰ τοὺς
ὅμοσε χωροῦντας οὕτ' ὅπίσω φεύγειν ἐπὶ τὸν
χάρακα διὰ τοὺς κατόπιν ἐπιόντας, οὐκ ἀνάνδρως,
6 ἀτυχῶς δ' οἱ πλείους κατεκόπησαν. γενομένης δ'
οἰκτρᾶς ἱκῆς περὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ οὐ παντά-
πασιν εὔτυχες τέλος εἰληφότος τοῦ ἄγωνος, οἱ μὲν
ὑπατοι πρὸ τῶν νεκρῶν καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι
τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα ηὐλίσαντο.

Οἱ δὲ κατέχοντες τὸ Ἱάνικλον Τυρρηνοί, ἐπειδὴ
οὐδεμίᾳ παρὰ τῶν οἴκοθεν ἥρχετο ἐπικουρία, κατα-
λιπεῖν ἔκριναν τὸ φρούριον, καὶ ἀναστρατοπεδεύ-
σαντες νυκτὸς ἀπῆραν εἰς τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν πόλιν
ἐγγυτάτῳ σφίσι τῶν Τυρρηνίδων πόλεων κειμένην.
7 τοῦ δὲ χάρακος αὐτῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κρατήσαντες
τά τε χρήματα διαρπάζουσιν ὅσα ὑπελείποντο
ἀδύνατα ὄντα ἐν φυγῇ φέρεσθαι, καὶ τραυματίας
λαμβάνουσι πολλούς, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ἀπο-
λειφθέντας, τοὺς δ' ἀνὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἄπασαν ἐστρωμέ-
8 νους. ἀντείχοντο γάρ τινες γλιχόμενοι τῆς οἰκαδε-

BOOK IX. 26, 4-8

and, being pursued down hill, were slain as they became scattered. When Verginius was informed of the plight of the left wing of the army, he led his entire force in battle array by a transverse road that passed over the hill. Then, finding himself in the rear of those who were pursuing his troops, he left a part of his army there to block any who should be sent from the camp to the relief of their comrades, and he himself with the rest attacked the enemy. In the meantime the troops also under Servilius, encouraged by the arrival of their comrades, faced about and, standing their ground, engaged. The Tyrrhenians, being thus surrounded by both forces and being unable either to break through in front, by reason of those who engaged them, or to flee back to their camp, by reason of those who attacked them in the rear, fought bravely but unsuccessfully, and were almost all destroyed. The Romans having thus gained a melancholy victory and the outcome of the battle being not altogether fortunate, the consuls encamped before the bodies of the slain and there spent the following night under the open sky.

The Tyrrhenians who were occupying the Janiculum, when no reinforcements came to them from home, decided to abandon the fortress ; and breaking camp in the night, they withdrew to Veii, which lay nearest to them of the Tyrrhenian cities. The Romans, having possessed themselves of their camp, plundered all the effects which the enemy had left behind as being impossible to carry away in their flight, and also seized many of their wounded, part of whom had been left in the tents, while others lay scattered all along the road. For some, eager to be on their way home, were holding out and with hearts

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

όδοῦ καὶ διεκαρτέρουν παρὰ δύναμιν ἀκολουθοῦντες, εἴτα βαρυνομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν μελῶν ἡμιθνῆτες κατέρρεον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· οὓς οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππεῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ προελθόντες ἀνείλοντο· καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲν ἔτι πολέμιον ἦν, καθελόντες τὸ φρούριον καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἄγοντες ἥκον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτησάντων κομίσαντες, οἰκτρὰν ὅψιν ἅπασι τοῖς πολίταις διὰ πλῆθος τε καὶ ἀρετὴν τῶν ἀπολομένων.

⁹ ὥστε ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὗτε ἑορτάζειν ὡς καλὸν ἀγῶνα κατορθώσας ἡξίου, οὕτε πενθεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἀνηκέστῳ συμφορᾷ· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς τὰς ἀναγκαίους ἐψηφίσατο θυσίας, τὴν δ' ἐπιώκιον τοῦ θριάμβου πομπὴν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε ποιήσασθαι τοῖς ὑπάτοις. μετ' οὐ πολλὰς δ' ἡμέρας ἀγορᾶς ἐπλήσθη παντοδαπῆς ἡ πόλις τῶν τε δημοσίᾳ πεμφθέντων καὶ τῶν εἰωθότων ἐμπορεύεσθαι πολὺν εἰσαγαγόντων σῖτον, ὥστ' ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ πάντας εὐετηρίᾳ γενέσθαι.

XXVII. Καταλυθέντων δὲ τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πολέμων ἡ πολιτικὴ στάσις αὐθις ἀνεκαίετο τῶν δημάρχων πάλιν ταραττόντων τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πολιτεύματα διεσκέδασαν αὐτῶν ἀντιταπτόμενοι πρὸς ἕκαστον οἱ πατρίκιοι, τὴν δὲ κατὰ Μενηνίου δίκην τοῦ νεωστὶ ὑπατεύσαντος καίτοι πολλὰ πραγματευθέντες ἀδύνατοι ἐγένοντο διαλῦ²σαι· ἀλλ' ὑπαχθεὶς ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰς δίκην ὑπὸ δυεῦν¹ δημάρχων Κοῖντου Κωνσιδίου² καὶ Τίτου Γενυκίου, καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτούμενος τῆς στρατηγίας τοῦ πολέ-

¹ δυεῦν R : τῶν δυεῦν R.

² Κωνσιδίου Sigonius : καὶ κοιντίλιου AC, κοιντίνου R.

stout beyond their strength were persisting in following their comrades ; then, when their limbs grew heavy, they collapsed half dead to the ground. These the Roman horsemen slew as they advanced a good distance along the road. And when there was no longer any sign of the enemy, the army razed the fortress and returned to the city with the spoils, carrying with them the bodies of those who had been slain in the battle—a piteous sight to all the citizens by reason both of the number and of the valour of those who had perished. Accordingly, the people did not think it fitting either to hold festival as for a glorious victory or to mourn as for a great and irreparable calamity ; and the senate, while ordering the required sacrifices to be offered to the gods, did not permit the consuls to conduct the triumphal procession in token of a victory. A few days later the city was filled with all sorts of provisions, as not only the men who had been sent out by the commonwealth but also those who were accustomed to carry on this trade had brought in much corn ; consequently, everybody enjoyed the same abundance as aforetime.

XXVII. The foreign wars¹ being now ended, the civil dissension began to flare up again as the tribunes once more stirred up the populace. And though all their other measures were defeated by the patricians as the result of marshalling their forces against every proposal, yet they were unable to suppress the accusation against Menenius, the late consul, in spite of all their efforts, but he was brought to trial by Quintus Considius and Titus Genucius, two of the tribunes. And being called upon to give an accounting of his

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 52, 2-5.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

μου τέλος οὕτ' εύτυχὲς οὕτ' εὐπρεπὲς λαβόντος,¹
 μάλιστα δὲ διαβαλλόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ Φαβίων ὀλέθρῳ
 καὶ τῇ Κρεμέρᾳ ἀλώσει, δικάζοντος τοῦ δημο-
 τικοῦ ὄχλου κατὰ φυλάς, οὐ παρ' ὀλίγας ψήφους
 ὥφλεν, υἱὸς ὢν Ἀγρίππα Μενηνίου τοῦ καταγα-
 γόντος ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς τὸν δῆμον καὶ διαλλάξαντος
 πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους, ὃν ἀποθανόντα ἡ βουλὴ ἐκ
 τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων λαμπροτάταις ἐκόσμησε
 ταφαῖς, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αἱ Ῥωμαίων ἐνιαύσιον
 ἐπένθησαν χρόνον πορφύραν καὶ χρυσὸν ἀποθέμεναι.

3 οὐ μέντοι θανάτου γε αὐτὸν² οἱ καταδικασάμενοι
 ἐτίμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκτίσματος ὁ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς νῦν
 ἔξεταζόμενον βίους γέλωτος ἄν αἴξιον φανείη, τοῖς
 δὲ τότε ἀνθρώποις αὐτουργοῖς οὖσι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ
 τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ζῶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ³
 πενίαν κληρονομήσαντι παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ὑπερ-
 φυὲς⁴ ἦν καὶ βαρύ, δισχιλίων ἀριθμὸς ἀσσαρίων.
 ἦν δ' ἀσσάριον τότε χάλκεον νόμισμα βάρος λι-
 τριαῖον, ὥστε τὸ σύμπαν ὄφλημα ταλάντων ἐκ-

4 καίδεκα εἰς ὄλκὴν χαλκοῦ γενέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο
 ἐπίφθονον ἐφάνη τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ἐπαν-
 ορθώσασθαι βουλόμενοι αὐτὸν τὰς μὲν χρηματι-
 κὰς ἐπαυσαν ζημίας, μετήνεγκαν δ' εἰς προβάτων
 ἐκτίσματα καὶ βοῶν, τάξαντες καὶ τούτων ἀριθμὸν
 ταῖς ὕστερον ἐσομέναις ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῖς
 ἴδιώταις ἐπιβολαῖς.⁴ ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μενηνίου κατα-
 δίκης ἀφορμὴν αὐθις εὐλήφεσαν οἱ πατρίκιοι τῆς
 πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν ὄργης καὶ οὔτε τὴν κληρουχίαν

¹ Reiske : λαβούσης Ο, Jacoby.

² αὐτὸν Β : αὐτῷ R.

³ ὑπερφυὲς Casaubon, ἀφειδὲς Jacoby, ἐπαχθὲς Capps,
 ἀπηνὲς Post : ἀφ' ἦς Ο.

⁴ ἐπιβολαῖς Ab : ἐπιβουλαῖς AaBC.

conduct of the war, the outcome of which had been neither fortunate nor honourable, and being blamed particularly for the destruction of the Fabii and the capture of Cremera, he was condemned by no small majority of the votes when the plebeians passed judgement upon him by tribes—even though he was the son of Agrippa Menenius who had brought the populace home after their secession and reconciled them with the patricians, the son of a man whom the senate after his death had honoured with a most magnificent funeral at the public expense and for whom the Roman matrons had mourned a whole year, laying aside their purple and gold. However, those who convicted him did not impose death as the penalty, but rather a fine—one which if compared with the fortunes of to-day would appear ridiculous, but to the men of that age, who worked their own farms and aimed at no more than the necessaries of life, and particularly to Menenius, who had inherited poverty from his father, was excessive¹ and oppressive, amounting to 2000 *asses*. The *as* was at that time a copper coin weighing a pound, so that the whole fine amounted to sixteen talents of copper in weight. And this appeared invidious to the men of those days, who, in order to redress it, abolished all pecuniary fines, changing them to payments in sheep and oxen, and limiting the number even of these in the case of all fines to be imposed thereafter by the magistrates upon private persons. From this condemnation of Menenius the patricians took fresh occasion for resentment against the plebeians and would neither permit them to carry out the allot-

¹ The first of these two adjectives has been corrupted in the MSS. and the correct word must remain in doubt.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐπέτρεπον ἔτι αὐτῷ ποιεῖσθαι οὕτ' ἄλλο ἐβούλοντο
 5 ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν οὐδέν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ
 τῷ δήμῳ μετέμελε τῶν δεδικασμένων, ἐπειδὴ τὴν
 τελευτὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπύθετο· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς ἀνθρώ-
 πων ἔτι συνῆλθεν ὁμιλίας οὐδ' ἐν δημοσίω τινὶ¹
 πρὸς οὐδενὸς ὥφθη τόπῳ, ἐξόν τε αὐτῷ τὴν ζημίαν
 ἐκτίσαντι μηδενὸς ἀπελαύνεσθαι τῶν κοινῶν (ἔτοι-
 μοι γὰρ ἡσαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων αὐτοῦ τὴν
 καταδίκην ἀπαριθμεῖν) οὐκ ἡξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ θανάτου
 τὴν συμφορὰν τιμησάμενος, οἴκοι μένων καὶ οὐδένα
 προσιέμενος ὑπό τ' ἀθυμίας καὶ σίτων ἀποχῆς¹
 μαρανθεὶς ἀπέστη τοῦ βίου. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ
 πραχθέντα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τοιάδε ἦν.

XXVIII. Ποπλίου δὲ Οὐαλερίου Ποπλικόλα καὶ
 Γαῖον Ναυτίου παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτερος
 ἀνὴρ πάλιν τῶν πατρικίων Σερούιος Σερουτίλιος, ὁ
 τῷ παρελθόντι ὑπατεύσας ἔτει, μετ' οὐ πολὺν ἦ
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέσθαι χρόνον εἰς τὸν ὑπέρ τῆς
 ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα ἥχθη. οἱ δὲ προθέντες αὐτῷ τὴν ἐν
 τῷ δήμῳ δίκην δύο τῶν δημάρχων ἡσαν, Λεύκιος
 Καιδίκιος καὶ Τίτος Στάτιος, οὐκ ἀδικήματος,
 ἀλλὰ τύχης ἀπαιτοῦντες λόγον, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν πρὸς
 Τυρρηνοὺς μάχην ὡσάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν
 πολεμίων ὁ ἀνὴρ θρασύτερον μᾶλλον ἦ φρονιμώ-
 τερον, ἐδιώχθη τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνδον ἀθρόων ἐπεξ-
 ελθόντων καὶ τὴν κρατίστην νεότητα ἀπέβαλεν.
 2 οὗτος ὁ ἀγῶν ἀπάντων ἐφάνη τοῖς πατρικίοις
 ἀγώνων² βαρύτατος, ἡγανάκτουν τε συνιόντες πρὸς
 ἀλλήλους καὶ δεινὸν ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ τὰς εὔτολμίας
 τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὸ μηδένα κίνδυνον ὄκνεῖν, ἐὰν

¹ Sylburg : ἐποχῆς Ο.

² ἀγώνων Ο : deleted by Jacoby.

ment of lands nor make any other concession in their favour. And not long afterwards even the populace repented of having condemned him, when they learned of his death. For from that time he no longer entered into any intercourse with his fellow men nor was seen by anyone in any public place ; and though it was his privilege by paying his fine not to be excluded from any public doings—for not a few of his friends were ready to pay the fine—he would not accept their offer, but rating his misfortune as a capital sentence and remaining at home and admitting no one, wasted away through dejection and abstinence from food, and so perished. These were the events of that year.

XXVIII. When Publius Valerius Publicola and Gaius Nautius had succeeded to the consulship,¹ another of the patricians, Servius² Servilius, who had been consul the preceding year, was put on trial for his life not long after laying down his magistracy. Those who cited him to trial before the populace were Lucius Caedicius and Titus Statius, two of the tribunes, who demanded an accounting, not for any crime, but for his bad luck, inasmuch as in the battle against the Tyrrhenians he had pressed forward to the enemy's camp with greater daring than prudence, and being pursued by the garrison, who rushed out in a body, had lost the flower of the youth. This trial was regarded by the patricians as the most grievous of all ; and meeting together, they expressed their resentment and indignation if boldness on the part of generals and their refusal to shirk any danger were going to be made a ground for

¹ For chaps. 28-33 cf. Livy ii. 52, 6-8.

² See note on chap. 25, 1.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐναντιωθῆ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς αὐτῶν τὸ δαιμόνιον, εἰς κατηγορίαν ἔξουσιν οἱ μὴ στάντες παρὰ τὰ δεινά· δειλίας τε καὶ ὄκνου καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι καινουργεῖν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὥφ' ὧν¹ ἐλευθερία τε ἀπόλλυται καὶ ἡγεμονία καταλύεται, τοὺς τοιούτους ἀγῶνας 3 αἰτίους ἔσεσθαι κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐλογίζοντο. παρακλήσει τε πολλῇ ἔχρωντο τῶν δημοτικῶν μὴ καταγνῶναι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν δίκην, διδάσκοντες ὡς μεγάλα βλάψουσι τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀτυχίαις τοὺς 4 στρατηγοὺς ζημιοῦντες. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐνέστη χρόνος, παρελθὼν εἰς τῶν δημάρχων κατηγόρησε τοῦ ἀνδρός, Λεύκιος Καιδίκιος, ὅτι δι' ἀφροσύνην τε καὶ τοῦ στρατηγεῦν ἀπειρίαν εἰς πρόδηλον ἄγων ὅλεθρον τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπώλεσε τῆς πόλεως τὴν κρατίστην ἀκμήν, καὶ εἰ μὴ ταχεῖα τοῦ κακοῦ γνῶσις ἐγένετο τῷ συνυπάτῳ, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἄγων τὰς δυνάμεις τούς τε πολεμίους ἀνέστειλε καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἔσωσε, μηδὲν ἂν γενέσθαι τὸ κωλῦσον ἀπασαν ἀπολωλέναι τὴν ἐτέραν δύναμιν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡμίσειαν ἀντὶ διπλα- 5 σίας εἶναι τὴν πόλιν. τοιαῦτ' εἰπὼν μάρτυρας ἐπηγάγετο λοχαγούς τε, ὅσοι περιήσαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν τινας, οἱ τὸ ἑαυτῶν αἰσχρὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τότε ἥττῃ τε καὶ φυγῇ ζητοῦντες ἀπολύσασθαι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἥτιῶντο τῆς περὶ τὸν ἄγωνα δυσποτμίας. ἔπειτα οἴκτον ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ τῶν τότε τεθνηκότων καταχεάμενος πολὺν καὶ τὸ δεινὸν αὐξήσας, τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα εἰς φθόνον κοινῇ κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων λεγόμενα τοὺς μέλλοντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δεήσεσθαι ἀνείρξειν

¹ ὥφ' ὧν Reiske : σφῶν Ο.

accusations, in case Heaven opposed their plans, on the part of those who had not faced the dangers ; and they reasoned that such trials would in all probability be the cause of cowardice, shirking and the lack of any further initiative on the part of commanders—the very weaknesses through which liberty is lost and supremacy undermined. They earnestly implored the plebeians not to condemn the man, pointing out that they would do great harm to the commonwealth if they punished their generals for being unfortunate. When the time for the trial was at hand, Lucius Caedicius, one of the tribunes, came forward and accused Servilius of having through his folly and inexperience in the duties of a general led his forces to manifest destruction and lost the finest manhood of the army ; and he declared that if his colleague had not been informed promptly of the disaster and had not by bringing up his forces in all haste repulsed the enemy and saved their own men, nothing could have prevented the other army from being utterly destroyed and the state from being reduced henceforth to one-half its former numbers. After he had thus spoken, he produced as witnesses all the centurions who had survived and some of the rank and file, who in the effort to wipe out their own disgrace arising from that defeat and flight were ready to blame the general for the ill success of the engagement. Then, having poured out many words of commiseration for the fate of those who had lost their lives upon that occasion, exaggerated the disaster, and with great contempt of the patricians dwelt at length upon everything else which by exposing their whole order to hatred was sure to discourage all who were intending to inter-

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἔμελλεν ἐκ πολλῆς ὑπεροφίας διελθών, παρέδωκε τὸν λόγον.

XXIX. Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὁ Σερουτίλιος εἶπεν· “Εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ δίκην με κεκληκατε, ὡς πολῖται, καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτεῖτε τῆς στρατηγίας, ἔτοιμός εἴμι ἀπολογήσασθαι· εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν κατεγγωσμένην, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔσται μοι πλέον ἀποδείξαντι ως οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶ, λαβόντες τὸ σῶμα 2 ὅ τι πάλαι βούλεσθε χρῆσθε. ἐμοί τε γὰρ κρείττον ἀκρίτῳ¹ ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ λόγου τυχόντι καὶ μὴ πείσαντι ὑμᾶς (δόξαιμι γὰρ ἄν² σὺν δίκῃ πάσχειν ὅ τι ἄν μου καταγνῶτε), ὑμεῖς τ' ἐν ἐλάττονι αἰτίᾳ ἔσεσθε ἀφελόμενοί μου τὸν λόγον καί, ἐν ὧ καὶ³ εἴ τι ἀδικῶ ὑμᾶς ἄδηλόν ἔστιν ἔτι, ταῖς ὄργαις χαρισάμενοι. ἔσται δέ μοι ἡ διάνοια ὑμῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀκροάσεως καταφανής, θορύβῳ τε καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ εἰκάζοντι πότερον ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν ἢ ἐπὶ δίκην κεκλή- 3 κατέ με.” ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπέσχε· σιγῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐμβοησάντων θαρρεῦν τε καὶ ὅσα βούλεται λέγειν, παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον πάλιν ἔλεξεν· “Ἄλλ’ εἴ τοι⁴ δικασταῖς ὑμῖν, ὡς πολῖται, καὶ μὴ ἔχθροῖς χρήσομαι, ράδίως πείσειν ὑμᾶς οἴομαι ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικῶ. ποιήσομαι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν λόγων ἔξι ὥν ἅπαντες ἴστε. ἐγὼ κατέστην ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν σὺν τῷ κρατίστῳ Οὐεργινίῳ καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐπιτειχίσαντες ὑμῖν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λόφον πάσης ἐκράτουν τῆς ὑπ-

¹ ἀκρίτῳ B : om. R.

² ἄν Reiske : om. O.

³ καὶ O : deleted by Cobet, Jacoby.

⁴ τοι B : om. R.

cede for the man, he gave him an opportunity of speaking.

XXIX. Taking up his defence, Servilius said : “ If it is to a trial, citizens, that you have summoned me, and you desire an accounting of my generalship, I am ready to make my defence ; but if it is to a punishment already determined, and no advantage is to accrue to me for showing that I have not wronged you in any way, take my person and deal with it as you have long desired to do. Indeed, for me it is better to die without a trial than after getting a chance to plead my cause and then failing to convince you—since I should in that case seem to suffer deservedly whatever you determined against me—and you on your part will be less blameworthy for depriving me of the right to plead my cause and for indulging your angry passions while it is still uncertain even whether I have done you any wrong. And your intention will be evident to me by the manner in which you give me a hearing : by your clamour and by your silence I shall judge whether it is to vengeance or to judgement that you have summoned me.” Having said this, he stopped. And when silence followed and then the majority cried out to him to be of good courage and say all that he wished, he resumed his plea and said : “ Well then, citizens, if you are to be my judges and not my enemies, I believe I shall easily convince you that I am guilty of no crime. I shall begin my defence with facts with which you are all familiar. I was chosen consul together with that most excellent man, Verginius, at the time when the Tyrrhenians, having fortified against you the hill that commands the city, were masters of all the open country and

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

αίθρου¹ καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἥσαν τοῦ καταλύσειν² ἡμῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τάχει. λιμὸς δὲ πολὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ στάσις καὶ τοῦ τί χρὴ πράττειν ἀμηχανία. τοιούτοις δὴ καιροῖς ἐπιστὰς οὕτω ταραχώδεσι καὶ φοβεροῖς τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἅμα τῷ συνάρχοντι ἐνίκησα διτταῖς μάχαις καὶ ἡνάγκασα καταλιπόντας τὸ φρούριον ἀπελθεῖν· τὸν δὲ λιμὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἔπαυσα τροφῆς ἀφθόνου πληρώσας τὰς ἀγοράς, καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐμὲ³ ὑπάτοις τὴν τε χώραν παρέδωκα ὅπλων πολεμίων ἐλευθέραν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑγιῆ πάσης νόσου πολιτικῆς, εἰς ἃς κατέβαλον αὐτὴν οἱ δημαγωγοῦντες. τίνος οὖν ἀδικήματος ὑπεύθυνος
 5 εἴμι ὑμῖν; εἰ μὴ τὸ νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐστὶν ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖν. εἰ δ' ἀποθανεῖν τισι τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατὰ τὴν μάχην⁴ εὐτυχῶς⁵ ἀγωνιζομένοις συνέπεσε, τί Σερουΐλιος τὸν δῆμον ἀδικεῖ; οὐ γὰρ δὴ θεῶν τις ἐγγυητὴς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῆς ἀπάντων ψυχῆς τῶν ἀγωνιουμένων γίνεται, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ διακειμένοις καὶ ρήτοῖς τὰς ἡγεμονίας παραλαμβάνομεν, ὥσθ' ἀπάντων κρατῆσαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μηδένα τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβαλεῖν. τίς γὰρ ἂν ὑπομείνειεν ἄνθρωπος ὃν ἄπαντα καὶ τὰ τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναλαβεῖν; ἀλλὰ τὰ μεγάλα ἔργα μεγάλων ἀεὶ κινδύνων ὡνούμεθα.

XXX. “Καὶ οὐκ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα πρώτῳ πολεμίοις ὅμόσε χωρῆσαντι συνέβη παθεῖν, ἅπασι δ' ὡς εἰπεῖν ὅσοι μάχας παρακεκινδυνευμένας σὺν ἐλάττοσι ταῖς σφετέραις δυνάμεσι πρὸς μείζονας τὰς

¹ ἀρχῆς after ὑπαίθρου deleted by Reiske.

² καταλύσειν C : καταλύειν R.

³ ἐμὲ Cmg : αὐτὸν O, ἐμαντὸν Hertlein.

⁴ κατὰ τὴν μάχην B : om. R.

⁵ εὐψύχως Kiessling.

entertained hopes of speedily overthrowing our empire. There was a great famine in the city, and sedition, and perplexity as to what should be done. Having been brought face to face with so turbulent and so formidable a crisis, I together with my colleague overcame the enemy in two engagements and obliged them to abandon the fort and leave the country, while I soon put an end to the famine by supplying the markets with abundant provisions ; and I handed over to my successors not only our territory freed from hostile arms but also our city cured of every political distemper with which the demagogues had infected it. For what wrongdoing, then, am I accountable to you—unless to conquer your enemies is to wrong you ? And if some of the soldiers happened to lose their lives in the battle while fighting successfully,¹ in what way has Servilius wronged the people ? For naturally no god offers himself as surety to generals for the lives of all who are going into battle ; nor do we receive the command of armies upon stated terms and conditions, namely that we are to overcome all our enemies and lose none of our own men. For who that is a mere mortal would consent to take upon himself all the consequences both of his judgement and of his luck ? No man, I say ; but our great successes we always buy at the cost of great hazards.

XXX. “ Moreover, I am not the first to whom it has fallen to suffer this fate when engaging the enemy, but it has happened to practically all who have risked desperate battles against enemy forces

¹ Or “ courageously,” following Kiessling.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἐποιήσαντο. ἐδίωξαν γὰρ ηδη τινὲς
 ἔχθροὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφυγον καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τε τῶν
 ἐναντίων πολλοὺς καὶ ἀπώλεσαν ἔτι πλείους τῶν
 2 σφετέρων. ἐώ γὰρ λέγειν¹ ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ τὸ
 παράπαν ἡττηθέντες σὺν αἰσχύνῃ τε καὶ βλάβῃ
 μεγάλῃ ἀνέστρεψαν, ὡν οὐδεὶς τῆς τύχης δέδωκε
 δίκας· ἵκανὴ γὰρ ἡ συμφορά, καὶ τὸ μηδενὸς ἐπ-
 αίνου τυχεῖν, ὡς δεῖ,² εἰ καὶ³ μηδὲν ἄλλο, μεγάλη
 τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ χαλεπὴ ζημία. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ'
 ἔγωγε τοσούτου δέω λέγειν, ὃ πάντες οἱ μέτριοι
 δίκαιοι εἶναι φήσουσιν, ὡς οὐ δεῖ με τύχης εὐθύνας
 ὑπέχειν, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλος τοιόνδε ἀγώνα
 ὑπέμεινεν εἰσελθεῖν, ἔγω μόνος οὐ παραιτοῦμαι,
 ἄλλὰ συγχωρῷ τὴν τύχην ἐξετάζεσθαι τὴν ἐμὴν
 3 οὐχ ἡττον τῆς γνώμης, ἐκεῖνο προειπών. ἔγω τὰς
 ἀνθρωπίνας πράξεις τάς τε δυστυχεῖς καὶ τὰς
 εὐτυχεῖς οὐκ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἔργων πολλῶν
 ὄντων καὶ ποικίλων ὅρῳ κρινομένας, ἄλλ' ἐκ τοῦ
 τέλους· καὶ ὅταν μὲν τοῦτο χωρήσῃ κατὰ νοῦν, κἄν
 τὰ μεταξὺ πολλὰ ὄντα μὴ καθ' ηδονὰς γένηται,
 οὐδὲν ἡττον ἐπαινουμένας ὑπὸ πάντων ἀκούω καὶ
 ζηλουμένας καὶ τῆς ἀγαθῆς νομιζομένας τύχης.
 ὅταν δὲ πονηρὰς λάβωσι τελευτάς, καὶ ἐὰν ἄπαντα
 τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τέλους ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστου⁴ γένηται, οὐ τῇ

¹ λέγειν A : om. R.

² ὡς δεῖ A : ὡς δ' B, ὡν δεῖ Kayser, om. Kiessling. It is easy to believe that not only ὡς δεῖ (or ὡς δ') but also εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο is spurious. The striking similarity of these two phrases, quite unneeded in this sentence, to ὥστ' εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλος, four lines below, where the words are required by the context, suggests that their presence here is due to a simple scribal error; it will be noted that in each case the words follow an infinitive ending in -χεῖν.

³ εἰ καὶ B : κἄν A.

more numerous than their own. For there have been instances where generals after chasing their foes have themselves been put to flight, and while slaying many of their opponents have lost still more of their own men. I shall not add that many even after meeting utter defeat have returned home with ignominy and great loss, yet not one of them has been punished for his bad luck. For the calamity itself is a sufficient punishment, and to receive no praise, as is inevitable, even without anything else,¹ is a great and grievous penalty for a general. Nevertheless, I for my part am so far from maintaining—what all reasonable men will allow to be just—that I do not have to render an accounting of my luck, that, even though no one else was ever willing to submit to such a trial, I alone do not decline to do so, but consent that my luck be inquired into as well as my judgement—after I have first made this one statement : I observe that men's undertakings, both unsuccessful and successful, are judged, not by the several operations in detail, which are many and various, but by the final outcome. When this turns out according to their hopes, even though the intermediate operations, which are many, may not be to their liking, I nevertheless hear the undertakings praised and admired by all and regarded as the consequences of good luck ; but when these measures lead to bad results, even though every measure before the final outcome is carried out with the greatest ease,² they are ascribed, not to the

¹ See the critical note.

² Or, following the emendation of Kiessling or that of Kayser, "in the best possible manner."

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

σπουδαίᾳ τύχῃ τῶν πραξάντων ἀποδιδομένας, ἀλλὰ
 4 τῇ κακῇ. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν σκοπὸν προθέντες¹ αὐτοὶ²
 ἔξετάζετε καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην ἥ παρὰ τοὺς πολέ-
 μους κέχρημαι. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν εὑρητε ἡττημένον με
 υπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, πονηρὰν καλεῖτέ μου τὴν τύχην,
 ἐὰν δὲ κεκρατηκότα τῶν ἔχθρῶν, ἀγαθήν. περὶ μὲν
 οὖν τῆς τύχης, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι φορτικοὶ πάντες
 εἰσὶν οἱ περὶ αὐτῆς λέγοντες, ἔχων ἔτι πλείω
 λέγειν, παύσομαι.

XXXI. “Επειδὴ δὲ καὶ τῆς γνώμης κατηγο-
 ροῦσί μου, προδοσίαν μὲν οὐ τολμῶντες ἐπικαλεῖν
 οὐδ’ ἀνανδρίαν, ἐφ’ οἷς αἱ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρα-
 τηγῶν γίνονται κρίσεις, ἀπειρίαν δὲ τοῦ στρατηγεῖν
 καὶ ἀφροσύνην, ὅτι κίνδυνον ὑπέμεινα οὐκ ἀναγ-
 καῖον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων ὠσάμενος,
 βούλομαι καὶ περὶ τούτου λόγον ὑποσχεῖν ὑμῖν,
 προχειρότατον μὲν τοῦτ’ ἔχων εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν
 ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς γενομένοις πάνυ ράδιον καὶ παντὸς
 ἀνθρώπου, τὸ δὲ παραβάλλεσθαι πράγμασι καλοῖς
 χαλεπὸν καὶ ὀλίγων· καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ὕσπερ τὰ γεγο-
 νότα φαίνεται ὅποιά ἔστιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα
 ὅποια ἔσται· ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνα μὲν αἰσθήσει³ καὶ πάθεσι
 καταλαμβανόμεθα, ταῦτα δὲ μαντείας καὶ δόξαις
 εἰκάζομεν, ἐν αἷς πολὺ τὸ ἀπατηλόν· καὶ ὅτι ράστον
 ἀπάντων ἔστι λόγω στρατηγεῖν πολέμους ἔξω τοῦ
 δεινοῦ βεβηκότας, ὃ ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες
 2 ἐμοῦ. ἀλλ’ ἵνα ταῦτ’ ἀφῶ, φέρε πρὸς θεῶν εἴπατέ
 μοι, μόνος ἡ πρῶτος ὑμῖν⁴ ἐγὼ φαίνομαι βιάσασθαι
 φρούριον ἐπιβαλόμενος καὶ πρὸς ὑψηλὰ χωρία τὰς
 δυνάμεις ἀγαγών; ἡ πολλῶν μετ’ ἄλλων ὑμε-

¹ προθέντες Cobet, προϊδόντες Jacoby : προελόντες O.

² αὐτοὶ A : ἑαυτοῖς B.

good, but to the bad luck of their authors. So, taking this as the target, do you yourselves consider what has been my luck in the various wars ; and if you find that I was vanquished by the enemy, call my luck bad, but if I was victorious over them, call it good. On the subject of luck, now, I could say still more ; however, as I am not unaware that all who discuss it are tiresome, I will desist.

XXXI. “ But since they censure my judgement also, not daring, indeed, to accuse me of treachery or cowardice, the charges on which other generals are tried, but accuse me of inexperience in the duties of a general and imprudence, in that I undertook an unnecessary risk in pressing forward to the enemy’s camp, I wish to render to you an accounting on that point too, since I can make the very obvious retort that it is very easy and lies in the power of any man to censure past actions, whereas to venture upon glorious exploits is difficult and within the power of but few ; also that it is not so apparent what future events will be as what past events are, but, on the contrary, we apprehend the latter by perception and our experiences, while we conjecture the others by divination and opinions, in which there is much that is deceptive; and again, that it is the easiest thing in the world for people to conduct wars by talk when they stand far from the danger, which is what my accusers do. But, to waive all this, tell me, in the name of the gods, do you regard me as the first or the only man who ever attempted to capture a stronghold by force and led his men against lofty positions ? Or have not many

³ αἰσθήσει B : αἰσθήσεσι R.

⁴ ὑμῖν B : om. R.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τέρων στρατηγῶν, ἐξ ὧν οἱ μὲν κατώρθωσαν, τοῖς δ' οὐκ ἔχώρησεν ἡ πεῖρα κατὰ νοῦν; τί δήποτ' οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀφέντες ἐμὲ κρίνετε, εἰ ταῦτα ἀστρατηγησίας καὶ ἀφροσύνης ἔργα νομίζετε; πόσα δ' ἄλλα τούτου τολμηρότερα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἔπεισι¹ πράττειν ὅταν τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ λελογισ-
 3 μένον ἥκιστα οἱ καιροὶ δέχωνται; οἱ μέν γε τὰς σημείας ἀρπάσαντες τῶν σφετέρων ἔρριψαν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἵνα τοῖς βλακεύουσι καὶ ἀποδειλιώσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου παραστῇ τὸ εὔψυχον,
 ἐπισταμένοις ὅτι τοὺς μὴ ἀνασώσαντας τὰ σημεῖα
 ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν δεῖ σὺν αἰσχύνῃ ἀποθανεῖν· οἱ δ'
 εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων χώραν ἐμβαλόντες ἔλυσαν τὰ ζεύγματα τῶν ποταμῶν οὓς διέβησαν, ἵνα τοῖς φεύγειν διανοούμενοις ἄπορος ἡ τοῦ σωθῆναι ἐλπὶς φανεῖσα θάρσος παραστήσῃ καὶ μένος ἐν ταῖς μάχαις· οἱ δὲ τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα κατακαύσαντες ἀνάγκην ἐπέθηκαν τοῖς σφετέροις ἐκ
 4 τῆς πολεμίας ὅσων δέονται λαμβάνειν. ἐῶ τάλλα μυρία ὄντα λέγειν καὶ ὅσα τολμηρὰ ἔργα καὶ ἐνθυμήματα ἔτερα στρατηγῶν ἴστορίᾳ τε καὶ πείρᾳ παραλαβόντες ἔχομεν, ἐφ' οἷς οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν ψευσθέντων τῆς ἐλπίδος ὑπέσχε δίκας. εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἔχει τις ὑμῶν αἰτιάσασθαι με ὅτι προβαλὼν τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς προῦπτον ὅλεθρον αὐτὸς ἔξω τοῦ κινδύνου τὸ σῶμα εἶχον. εἰ δὲ μετὰ πάντων τε ἔξηταξόμην καὶ τελευταῖος ἀπηλλαττόμην καὶ τῆς

¹ ἔπεισι B : ἦλθεν ἐπὶ νοῦν A.

¹ This passage makes it clear that Dionysius could use *σκευοφόρα* in the sense of the simple *σκεύη*, and that it should be so rendered in iv. 47, 2.

others of your generals done the same, some of whom have succeeded, while the attempt of others has not turned out as they wished? Why in the world, then, did you let the others off but now try me, if you consider these actions to be marks of incapacity and imprudence in a general? How many other undertakings more daring than this does it occur to your generals to attempt when times of crisis will by no means admit of the safe and well-considered course? Some indeed have snatched the standards from their own men and hurled them among the enemy, in order that the indolent and cowardly might perforce gain courage, since they knew that those who failed to recover their standards must be put to death ignominiously by their generals. Others, after invading the enemy's country, have destroyed the bridges over the rivers which they had crossed, in order that any who entertained thoughts of saving themselves by flight might find their hope vain and so be inspired with boldness and resolution in the battles. Still others by burning their tents and baggage¹ have imposed on their men the necessity of supplying themselves out of the enemy's country with everything they needed. I omit mentioning all the other instances of the kind, which are countless, and the many other daring actions and expedients of generals that we know of from both history and our own experience, for which no general was ever punished when disappointed in his hopes. Unless, indeed, someone among you can bring the charge against me that when I exposed the others to manifest destruction I kept myself out of danger. But if I took my place in the line with all the rest, was last to withdraw and shared the same fortune with the

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

αὐτῆς τοῖς ἄλλοις μετεῖχον τύχης, τί ἀδικῶ; καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐμοῦ ταῦθ' ἵκανὰ εἰρήσθω.

XXXII. “ Περὶ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν πατρικίων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ κοινὸν ὑμῶν μῖσος, ὃ διὰ τὴν κωλυθεῖσαν κληρουχίαν ἔχετε, καὶ ἐμὲ λυπεῖ, καὶ οὐδὲ ὁ κατήγορος αὐτὸν ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλὰ μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἐμῆς κατηγορίας,
 2 βιούλομαι βραχέα εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἔσται δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας ὁ λόγος· ἄλλως γὰρ οὕτ’ ἂν ἐγὼ δυναίμην λέγειν οὕθ’ ὑμῖν ἀκούειν συμφέροι.¹ οὐ δίκαια ποιεῦτε οὐδ’ ὅσια, ὡς δημόται, τῶν μὲν εὐεργεσιῶν ἃς εὑρεσθε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, πολλῶν οὖσῶν καὶ μεγάλων, οὐκ εἰδότες αὐτῇ χάριν, εἰ δέ τι δεομένοις ὑμῖν ἐξ οὗ συγχωρηθέντος μεγάλα βλάπτοιτ’ ἂν τὸ κοινόν, οὐ φθονοῦσα ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ συμφέρον τῆς πόλεως ὁρῶσα, ἡναντιώθη, τοῦτο δι’
 3 ὅργης λαμβάνοντες. ἔδει δ’ ὑμᾶς μάλιστα μὲν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου τὰ βουλεύματα αὐτῆς γενόμενα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων ἀγαθῷ δεχομένους ἀποστῆναι τῆς σπουδῆς· εἰ δ’ ἀδύνατοι ἥτε κατασχεῖν ἀσύμφορον ἐπιθυμίαν λογισμῷ σώφρονι, μετὰ τοῦ πείθειν τῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦν τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ
 4 τοῦ βιάζεσθαι. αἱ γὰρ ἑκούσιοι δωρεὰὶ τοῖς τε προϊεμένοις² ἥδίους τῶν ἡναγκασμένων εἰσί, καὶ τοῖς λαμβάνουσι βεβαιότεραι τῶν μὴ τοιούτων. ὃ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ λογίζεσθε ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ὥσπερ θάλαττα ὑπ’ ἀνέμων ἄλλων ἐπ’

¹ Steph. : συμφέρει ABC, Jacoby.

² Cobet : προεμένοις O, Jacoby.

others, of what crime am I guilty? Concerning myself, then, let this suffice.

XXXII. "But concerning the senate and the patricians I wish to say a few words to you, since the general hatred you plebeians bear toward them because they prevented the allotment of land hurts me also, and since my accuser too did not conceal this hatred, but made it no small part of his accusation against me. And I shall speak with frankness; for I could not speak in any other fashion, nor would it be to your interest to hear me if I did. You are not doing right in the eyes of men or the gods, plebeians, if, on the one hand, you show no gratitude for the many great benefits you have received from the senate, but, on the other hand, because, when you demanded a measure the concession of which would bring great harm to the public, the senate, not in any spirit of animosity toward you, but having in view the welfare of the commonwealth, opposed it, you angrily resent its action. But what you ought to have done was, preferably, to accept the senate's decisions as having been made with the best of motives and for the good of all and then to have desisted from your selfish striving; but if you were unable to restrain your inexpedient desire by means of sober reason, you should have sought to obtain these same ends by persuasion and not by violence. For voluntary gifts are not only more pleasing to those who grant them than such as are extorted by force, but are also more lasting to those who receive them than those which are not freely given. Of this truth you, however, as Heaven is my witness, take no account, but you are continually stirred up by your demagogues and roused to fury

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἄλλοις ἐπανισταμένων, ἀνακινούμενοί τε καὶ ἀγριανόμενοι οὐδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον χρόνον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ γαλήνῃ διακεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἔστε. τοιγάρτοι περίεστιν¹ ἡμῖν² κρείττονα ἥγεῖσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης τὸν πόλεμον· ὅταν μέν γε πολεμῶμεν, τοὺς ἔχθροὺς κακῶς ποιοῦμεν, ὅταν δ' εἰρήνην ἄγωμεν, τοὺς 5 φίλους. καίτοι, ὡς δημόται, εἰ μὲν ἄπαντα τὰ βουλεύματα τοῦ συνεδρίου καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα ἥγεῖσθ' εἶναι, ὥσπερ ἔστι, τί οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβάνετ' εἶναι; εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἀπλῶς τὴν βουλὴν τῶν δεόντων οἴεσθε φρονεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύειν, τί δῆ ποτε οὐχὶ μεταστησάμενοι αὐτὴν ἀθρόαν, αὐτοὶ ἄρχετε καὶ βουλεύετε καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἥγεμονίας πολέμους ἐκφέρετε, ἀλλὰ περικνίζετε αὐτὴν καὶ κατὰ μικρὰ διαλύετε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀναρπάζοντες ἐν ταῖς δίκαιαις; ἅμεινον γὰρ ἦν³ ἄπασιν ἡμῖν κοινῇ πολεμεῖσθαι ἢ καθ' ἕνα ἔκαστον ἴδιᾳ 6 συκοφαντεῖσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι τούτων, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἀλλ' οἱ συνταράπτοντες ὑμᾶς δημαγωγοὶ οὗτε ἄρχεσθαι ὑπομένοντες οὗτε ἄρχειν εἰδότες. καὶ ὅσον μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τούτων ἀφροσύνῃ τε καὶ ἀπειρίᾳ πολλάκις ἄν ὑμῖν τόδε τὸ σκάφος ἀνετράπη, νῦν δ' ἡ⁴ τὰ τούτων σφάλματα ἐπανορθοῦσα καὶ ἐν ὁρθῇ παρέχουσα ὑμῖν τῇ πόλει πλεῖν,⁵ ἡ πλεῖστα δεινὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀκούουσά ἔστι βουλή. 7 ταῦτα εἴτε ἡδέα ἔστὶν ὑμῖν ἀκούειν εἴτε ἀνιαρά, μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας εἴρηται μοι καὶ τετόλμηται.

¹ Kiessling : πάρεστιν Ο, παρέστη Sintenis, Jacoby, παρέστηκεν Post.

² ἡμῖν R (?) : ὑμῖν A Bb.

³ ἦν om. B.

⁴ δ' ἡ Reiske : δὴ Ba, δὲ A Bb.

⁵ πλεῖν added here by Jacoby, after ὁρθῇ by Reiske.

even as is the sea by winds that spring up one after another, and you do not permit the commonwealth to remain calm and serene for even the briefest space of time. The result, therefore, is that we prefer war to peace ; at any rate, when we Romans are at war, we hurt our enemies, but when at peace, our friends. And yet, plebeians, if you regard all the resolutions of the senate as excellent and advantageous, as they really are, why do you not assume this also to be one of them ? If, however, you believe that the senate takes no thought at all for the things it should, but governs the commonwealth dishonourably and basely, why in the world do you not abolish it bag and baggage and yourselves govern and deliberate and wage wars in defence of our empire, rather than pare it down and destroy it by degrees by making away with its most important members in your trials ? For it would be better for all of us to be attacked together in war than for each one separately to be the victim of false accusations. However, it is not you, as I said, who are the authors of these disorders, but rather the demagogues, who keep you stirred up and who are neither willing to be ruled nor capable of ruling. Indeed, so far as their imprudence and inexperience could accomplish it, this ship of yours would have foundered many times over ; but as it is, the power which corrects their errors and enables your commonwealth to sail on an even keel is the senate, so greatly maligned by them. These remarks, whether they are pleasant for you to hear or vexatious, have been uttered and hazarded by me in all sincerity ; and I

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

καὶ μᾶλλον αἴροιμην ἂν παρρησίᾳ συμφερούσῃ τῷ κοινῷ χρώμενος ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὑμῶν λέγων σεσῶσθαι.”

XXXIII. Τοιούτους εἰπὼν λόγους καὶ οὕτε πρὸς ὄλοφυρμοὺς καὶ ἀνακλαύσεις τῆς συμφορᾶς τραπόμενος οὕτε ἐν δεήσεσι καὶ προκυλισμοῖς ἀσχήμοσι ταπεινὸς φανεὶς οὕτ’ ἄλλην ἀγεννῆ διάθεσιν ἀποδειξάμενος οὐδεμίαν παρέδωκε τὸν λόγον τοῖς συναγορεύειν ἢ μαρτυρεῖν βουλομένοις. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι παριόντες ἀπέλυνον αὐτὸν τῆς αἵτίας, μάλιστα δὲ Οὐεργύνιος ὁ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπατεύσας χρόνον καὶ τῆς νίκης αἵτιος εἶναι δοκῶν· ὃς οὐ μόνον ἀναίτιον αὐτὸν ἀπέφαινεν, ἄλλὰ καὶ ὡς κράτιστον ἀνδρῶν τὰ πολέμια καὶ στρατηγῶν φρονιμώτατον ἐπαινεῖσθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι ὑπὸ 2 πάντων ἡξίουν. ἔφη δὲ δεῖν, εἰ μὲν ἀγαθὸν οἴονται τέλος εἰληφέναι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι τὴν χάριν εἰδέναι, εἰ δὲ πονηρόν, ἀμφοτέρους ζημιοῦν· κοινὰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ βουλεύματα καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου τύχας γεγονέναι. ἦν δ’ οὐ μόνον ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἄλλὰ καὶ ὁ βίος πείθων, ἐν ἅπασιν ἔξητασμένος ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς. προσῆν δὲ τούτοις, ὁ πλεῖστον ἐκίνησεν οἶκτον, ὅψεως σχῆμα συμπαθέσ, οἶνον περὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πεπονθότας ἢ μέλλοντας πάσχειν τὰ δεινὰ γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ. ὥστε καὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι καὶ δοκοῦντας ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν αἵτιον σφίσι τῆς συμφορᾶς μαλακωτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ὀργήν, ὡς ἐδήλωσαν.

had rather lose my life by using a freedom of speech that is advantageous for the commonwealth than save it by flattering you."

XXXIII. Having spoken in this manner and without either resorting to lamentations and wailings over his misfortune or abasing himself by entreaties and unseemly grovelling at the feet of anyone, and without displaying any other mark of an ignoble nature, he yielded the floor to those who desired to speak or bear witness in his favour. Many came forward and sought to clear him of the charge, and particularly Verginius, who had been consul at the same time with him and was regarded as having been the cause of the victory. He not only declared Servilius to be innocent, but argued that, as the bravest of men in war and the most prudent of generals, he deserved to be praised and honoured by all. He said that if they thought the war had ended favourably, they ought to feel grateful to both commanders, but if unfavourably, they ought to punish them both ; for not only their plans, but also their actions and the fortunes meted out to them by Heaven had belonged to them both alike. Not only were the man's words convincing, but his whole life as well, which had been tested in all manner of good deeds. He had moreover—and this it was that stirred the greatest compassion—a look of fellow-suffering, such a look as one is apt to see on the faces of those who themselves have suffered calamities or are about to suffer them. Hence even the relations of the men who had lost their lives in the battle and seemed irreconcilable to the author of their misfortune became softened and laid aside their resentment, as they presently made evident. For

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἀναδοθεισῶν γὰρ τῶν ψήφων οὐδεμία φυλὴ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατεψηφίσατο. ὁ μὲν οὖν τὸν Σερουῆλιον καταλαβὼν κίνδυνος τοιούτου τέλους ἔτυχεν.

XXXIV. Οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ στρατιὰ 'Ρωμαίων ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς ἄγοντος θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου. συνέστη γὰρ αὗθις ἡ Οὐιεντανῶν δύναμις προσθεμένων αὐτοῖς Σαβίνων, οἱ τέως ὀκνοῦντες αὐτοῖς συνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου ὡς ἀδυνάτων ἐφιεμένοις, τότε, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε Μενηνίου φυγὴν ἔγνωσαν καὶ τὸν ἐπιτειχισμὸν τοῦ πλησίον τῆς 'Ρώμης ὄρους, τεταπεινῶσθαι νομίσαντες τὰς τε¹ δυνάμεις τὰς² 'Ρωμαίων καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς πόλεως ἡττῆσθαι, συνελάμβανον 2 τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς πολλὴν ἀποστείλαντες δύναμιν. οἱ δὲ Οὐιεντανοὶ τῇ τε σφετέρᾳ δυνάμει πεποιθότες καὶ τῇ Σαβίνων νεωστὶ ἥκουσῃ καὶ³ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων Τυρρηνῶν ἐπικουρίας περιμένοντες προθυμίαν μὲν εἶχον ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ρώμην ἐλαύνειν τῇ πλείονι τῆς σφετέρας στρατιᾶς, ὡς οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ὅμοσε χωρήσοντος, ἀλλὰ δυεῦν θάτερον, ἡ ἐκ τειχομαχίας αἴρήσοντες τὴν πόλιν ἢ λιμῷ κατεργασόμενοι.⁴ 3 ἔφθασε δὲ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτῶν ὁ Οὐαλέριος, ἐν ᾧ ἔτι ἔμελον ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τοὺς ὑστερίζοντας συμμάχους ἀνέμενον, αὐτὸς ἀγαγὼν 'Ρωμαίων τὴν κρατίστην ἀκμὴν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικουρικόν, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἔξοδον, ἀλλ' ὡς μάλιστα λήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔμελε. προελθὼν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς 'Ρώμης περὶ δείλην ὄψιαν καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Τέβεριν, οὐ μακρὰν ἀποσχὼν τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν· ἔπειτ' ἀναστήσας τὴν

¹ τε deleted by Reiske.

² τὰς B : om. R.

³ καὶ Cmg : om. R.

when the votes had been taken, not a single tribe condemned him. Such was the outcome of the jeopardy in which Servilius had been placed.

XXXIV. Not long afterwards¹ an army of the Romans marched out against the Tyrrhenians under the command of Publius Valerius, one of the consuls. For the forces of the Veientes had again assembled and had been joined by the Sabines. The latter had hitherto hesitated to assist them in the war, fearing that they were aiming at the impossible ; but now, when they learned both of the flight of Menenius and of the fortifying of the hill close to the city, concluding that the forces of the Romans had been humbled and that the spirit of the commonwealth had been broken, they proceeded to aid the Tyrrhenians, sending them a large body of troops. The Veientes, relying both on their own forces and on those of the Sabines which had just come to them, and expecting reinforcements from the rest of the Tyrrhenians, were eager to march on Rome with the greater part of their army, in the belief that none would oppose them, but that they should either take the city by storm or reduce it by famine. But Valerius forestalled their plan, while they were still delaying and waiting for the allies who tarried, by setting out himself with the flower of the Roman youth and with the auxiliary force from the allies, not openly, but in such a manner as would conceal his march from the enemy so far as possible. For, advancing from Rome in the late afternoon and crossing the Tiber, he encamped at a short distance from the city ; then, rousing the army about mid-

¹ For chaps. 34 f. cf. Livy ii. 53.

⁴ κατεργασόμενοι C : κατεργασάμενοι AB.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

στρατιὰν περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἦγεν ἐν τάχει,¹ καὶ πρὸν ἡμέραν γενέσθαι θατέρῳ χάρακι τῶν πολε-⁴ μίων ἐπέβαλε. δύο γὰρ ἦν στρατόπεδα, χωρὶς μὲν τὸ Τυρρηνῶν, ἔτέρῳ δὲ τὸ Σαβίνων, οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντα. πρώτῃ δὲ προσαγα-
γὼν τὴν δύναμιν τῇ Σαβίνων στρατοπεδείᾳ, καθ-
υπνωμένων ἔτι τῶν πλείστων καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς οὕσης
ἀξιολόγου φυλακῆς, οἷα ἐν φιλίᾳ τε γῇ καὶ κατὰ
πολλὴν ὑπεροφίαν τῶν πολεμίων οὐδαμῇ ἀγγελ-
λομένων, ἔξι ἐφόδου γίνεται ταύτης ἔγκρατής.
τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων οἵ μὲν ἐν ταῖς κοίταις ἔτι ὄντες
κατεσφάγησαν, οἵ δ' ἀνιστάμενοι ἀρτίως καὶ τὰ
ὅπλα ἐνδυόμενοι, οἵ δ' ὠπλισμένοι μέν, σποράδες
δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει ἀμυνόμενοι, οἵ δὲ πλεῖστοι
φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἔτερον χάρακα ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππεων
καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθάρησαν.

XXXV. Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἀλόντος τοῦ τῶν Σαβίνων χάρακος ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Οὐαλέριος
ἐπὶ τὸν ἔτερον, ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ Οὐιεντανοὶ χωρίον οὐ
πάνυ ἔχυρὸν κατειληφότες. λαθεῖν μὲν οὖν οὐκέτι
ἐνεδέχετο τοὺς προσιόντας τῷ χάρακι· ἡμέρα τε
γὰρ ἦν ἥδη λαμπρά, καὶ τῶν Σαβίνων οἵ φεύγον-
τες² ἀπήγγειλαν τοὺς Τυρρηνοῖς τὴν τε αὐτῶν συμ-
φορὰν καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἔλασιν· ἀναγκαῖον δ'
ἥν ἐκ τοῦ καρτεροῦ³ τοὺς πολεμίους συμφέρεσθαι.
2 γίνεται δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τῶν Τυρ-
ρηνῶν ἀγωνιζομένων πρὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ὀξεῖα
μάχη καὶ φόνος ἀμφοτέρων πολύς, ἵσόρροπός τε
καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ ταλαντευομένη τῇδε καὶ τῇδε ἡ
κρίσις τοῦ πολέμου. ἔπειτα ἐνέδοσαν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ

¹ ἐν τάχει Kiessling : ἐν τάξει O.

² φυγόντες Sintenis, Jacoby.

night, he marched in haste¹ and, before it was day, attacked one of the enemy's camps. For there were two camps, separate but at no great distance from one another, one of the Tyrrhenians and the other of the Sabines. The first camp he attacked was that of the Sabines, where most of the men were still asleep and there was no guard worth mentioning, inasmuch as they were in friendly territory and felt great contempt for the enemy, whose presence had not been reported from any quarter ; and he took it by storm. Some of the Sabines were slain in their beds, others just as they were getting up and arming themselves, and still others, who, though armed, were dispersed and fighting in disorder ; but the larger part of them were intercepted and destroyed by the Roman horse while they were endeavouring to escape to the other camp.

XXXV. The camp of the Sabines having thus been taken, Valerius led his forces to the other camp, where the Veientes lay, having occupied a position that was not very strong. Here it was not possible for the attackers to approach the camp without being seen, since it was now broad daylight and the fleeing Sabines had informed the Tyrrhenians both of their own disaster and of the advance of the Romans against the others ; hence it was necessary to attack the enemy with might and main. Then, as the Tyrrhenians fought before their camp with all possible vigour, a sharp action ensued, with great slaughter on both sides ; and the decision of the battle was equally balanced, shifting to and fro for a long time. At last

¹ “ In haste ” is Kiessling’s emendation for “ in battle array,” the reading of the MSS.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀρμαϊκῆς ἐξωσθέντες ἵππου καὶ ἀπ-
εχώρησαν εἰς τὸν χάρακα, ὁ δὲ ὑπατος ἡκολούθει,
καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἐγένετο τῶν ἐρυμάτων (ἥν δὲ
φαύλως κατεσκευασμένα καὶ τὸ χωρίον, ὥσπερ
ἔφην, οὐ πάνυ ἀσφαλές) προσέβαλε κατὰ πολλὰ
μέρη τό τε λοιπὸν ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας μέρος
ἐπιταλαιπωρῶν καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα ἀνα-
3 παυσάμενος. οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ ταῖς συνεχέσι κακο-
παθείαις ἀπειρηκότες ἐκλείπουσι τὸν χάρακα περὶ
τὸν ὄρθρον καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔφυγον,¹ οἱ δὲ
εἰς τὰς πλησίον ὅλας ἐσκεδάσθησαν. γενόμενος δὲ
καὶ τούτου τοῦ χάρακος ἐγκρατῆς ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν
ἡμέραν ἀνέπαυσε τὴν στρατιάν, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς τά τε
λάφυρα ὅσα ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων εἰλήφει τῶν στρατο-
πέδων διένειμε τοὺς ἀγωνισαμένους πολλὰ ὅντα, καὶ
τοὺς ἀριστεύσαντας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τοὺς εἰωθόσιν
4 ἐκόσμει στεφάνοις. ἥν δὲ ὁ κράτιστα πάντων
ἀγωνίσασθαι δόξας καὶ τρεψάμενος τὴν Οὐιεντα-
νῶν δύναμιν Σερουτίλιος ὁ τῷ προτέρῳ ὑπατεύσας
ἦτει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου δίκην ἀποφυγών,
πρεσβευτὴς τότε τῷ Οὐαλερίῳ συμπεμφθείσ, καὶ
ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριστείᾳ τῇδε τὰς νομίζομένας εἶναι μεγί-
στας παρὰ Ἀρμαίοις δωρεὰς οὗτος ἥν ὁ πρῶτος
ἐξενεγκάμενος. μετὰ ταῦτα τούς τε τῶν πολεμίων
σκυλεύσας νεκροὺς ὁ ὑπατος καὶ τῶν ἴδιων ταφὰς
ποιησάμενος ἀπῆγε² τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ πλησίον τῆς
Οὐιεντανῶν πόλεως³ καταστήσας προύκαλεῦτο τοὺς
5 ἔνδον. ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐξῆρει μαχησόμενος ἄπορον ὄρῶν
χρῆμα ἐκ τειχομαχίας αὐτοὺς ἐλεῦν ἐχυρὰν σφόδρα
ἔχοντας πόλιν, τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν πολλὴν καταδραμῶν

¹ Sylburg : ἔφευγον Ο.

² Sintenis : ἐξῆγε Ο.

³ πόλεως Sylburg : χώρας Ο.

the Tyrrhenians, forced back by the Roman horse, gave way and retired to their camp. The consul followed, and when he came near their ramparts—these had been poorly constructed and the place, as I said, was not very secure—he attacked them in many places at once, continuing his exhausting efforts all the rest of that day and not even resting the following night. The Tyrrhenians, exhausted by their continual hardships, left their camp at break of day, some fleeing to their city and others dispersing themselves in the neighbouring woods. The consul, having made himself master of this camp also, rested his army that day ; then, on the next day he distributed to the men who had shared in the fighting the spoils, great in quantity, which he had taken in both camps, and honoured with the customary crowns those who had distinguished themselves in the battles. The man who was regarded as having fought with the greatest bravery of all and put the troops of the Veientes to flight was Servilius, the consul of the preceding year, who had been acquitted in his trial before the populace and now had been sent along as legate to Valerius ; and in consideration of the superior valour he showed upon this occasion he was the first to receive the rewards which among the Romans are the most esteemed. After that the consul, having stripped the enemy's dead and buried his own, marched away with his army, and encamping near the city of the Veientes, challenged those inside to give battle. But when none ventured out to fight and he saw that it would be a difficult matter to capture them by assault, occupying as they did a city that was exceedingly strong, he overran a great part of their country and then invaded that of the

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

εἰς τὴν Σαβίνων ἐνέβαλε. λεηλατήσας δὲ κάκείνην
 ἔτι ἀκέραιον οὖσαν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ βαρεῖαν
 ἥδη τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἔχων ταῖς ὠφελείαις ἀπῆγεν
 ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν· καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν δῆμος πρὸ⁶
 πολλοῦ τῆς πόλεως ὅντι ἐστεφανωμένος ὑπήντα
 λιβανωτοῖς τε θυμιῶν τὴν πάροδον καὶ κρατῆρσι
 μελικράτου κεκραμένοις ὑποδεχόμενος τὴν στρα-
 τιάν· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τὴν τοῦ θριάμβου πομπὴν ἐψη-
 φίσατο.

6 ‘Ο δ’ ἔτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Γάιος Ναύτιος, ὃ
 προσέκειτο κατὰ κλῆρον ἡ τῶν συμμάχων Λατίνων
 τε καὶ Ἐρνίκων φυλακή, βραδυτέραν ἐποιήσατο
 τὴν ἔξοδον, οὕτε ἀπορίᾳ οὕτε ὄκνῳ τοῦ κινδύνου
 κρατηθείσ, τὴν δ’ ἀδηλότητα τοῦ πρὸς Οὐιεντανοὺς
 πολέμου καραδοκῶν, ἵν’ ἐάν τι συμβῇ πταῖσμα
 περὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιὰν ἐν ἑτοίμῳ τις ὑπάρχῃ τῇ
 πόλει συνεστῶσα δύναμις ἡ κωλύσει τοὺς πολε-
 μίους εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλεῖν, ἐὰν ὥσπερ¹ οἱ πρό-
 τερον ἐλάσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ρώμην ἐπιτειχίζειν τινὰ
 7 κατὰ τῆς πόλεως χωρία ἐπιβάλωνται. ἐν δὲ τῷ
 μεταξὺ τούτου χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ κατὰ τῶν Λατίνων
 πόλεμος, ὃν ἐπῆγον αὐτοῖς Αἰκανοί τε καὶ Οὐο-
 λούσκοι, τέλος εὐτυχὲς ἔσχε· καὶ παρῆσάν τινες
 ἀγγέλλοντες μάχῃ νικηθέντας ἀπεληλυθέναι τοὺς
 πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν, καὶ μηδεμιᾶς τοῖς
 συμμάχοις ἔτι δεῦν βοηθείας κατὰ τὸ παρόν· ὁ
 μέντοι Ναύτιος οὐδὲν ἤττον, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν τῇ Τυρ-
 ρηνίᾳ πράγματα καλῶς σφίσιν ἔχώρησεν, ἐξῆγε τὴν
 8 στρατιάν. ἐμβαλὼν δ’ εἰς τὴν Οὐολούσκων χώραν
 καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῆς διεξελθὼν ἔρημον ἀφειμένην,
 ἀνδραπόδων μὲν καὶ βοσκημάτων ὄλίγων πάνυ²

¹ ὥσπερ Steph. : ὥσπερ ABC.

Sabines. For many days he plundered their territory too, which was still untouched, and then, since his baggage train was now heavily laden with booty, he led his troops homeward. While he was yet a long way from the city he was met by the people, who, crowned with garlands, perfumed the route with frankincense as he entered and received the army with bowls of honeyed wine. And the senate decreed to him the celebration of a triumph.

The other consul, Gaius Nautius, to whom the defence of their allies the Latins and the Hernicans had fallen by lot, had delayed taking the field, not because he was swayed by any irresolution or fear of danger, but because he was awaiting the uncertain outcome of the war with the Veientes, to the end that, if any misfortune should befall the army employed against them the commonwealth might have another force assembled in readiness to hinder the enemy from making an irruption into the country, in case this foe, like those who had earlier marched against Rome, should attempt to fortify any places as a threat to the city. In the meantime the war brought upon the Latins by the Aequians and the Volscians had been happily concluded and messengers had arrived announcing that the enemy, defeated in battle, had left the territory of the Latins and that these allies no longer stood in any need of assistance for the present. Nevertheless, Nautius, after affairs in Tyrrhenia had taken a happy turn for the Romans, marched out with his army. Then, having invaded the country of the Volscians and overrun a great part of it which they had left deserted, he possessed

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

έκρατησεν, ἀρούρας δ' αὐτῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ σίτου
δόντος ἐμπρήσας καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν ἐν τοῖς
ἀγροῖς λωβησάμενος οὐδενὸς δόμοσε χωροῦντος
ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν· ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν
ἀνδρῶν ἐπράχθη.

XXXVI. Οἱ δὲ διαδεξάμενοι τούτους ὕπατοι
Αὖλος Μάλλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Φούριος, ψηφισαμένης
τῆς βουλῆς τὸν ἔτερον αὐτῶν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Οὐιεν-
τανοὺς ἄγειν, ἐκληρώσαντο περὶ τῆς ἔξοδου, καθά-
περ αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἦν. καὶ λαχὼν Μάλλιος ἐξῆγε τὰς
δυνάμεις διὰ ταχέων καὶ πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων
κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. οἱ δὲ Οὐιεντανοὶ τειχήρεις
γενόμενοι τέως μὲν ἀντεῖχον καὶ διεπρεσβεύοντο
πρὸς τε τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐν Τυρρηνοῖς πόλεις καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς νεωστὶ συμμαχήσαντας αὐτοῖς Σαβίνους,
βοήθειαν ἀξιοῦντες ἀποστεῖλαι σφίσι διὰ ταχέων.
2 ὡς δ' ἀπάντων ἀπετύγχανον καὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἀπ-
αναλώκεσαν, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης¹ βιασθέντες ἐξῆλθον
ὡς τὸν ὕπατον, ἵκετηρίας φέροντες οἱ πρεσβύτατοί
τ' αὐτῶν καὶ τιμιώτατοι, περὶ καταλύσεως δεόμενοι
τοῦ πολέμου. τοῦ δὲ Μαλλίου κελεύσαντος αὐτοῖς
ἀργύριον τε εἰς ὁψωνιασμὸν ἐνιαυτοῦ τῇ στρατιᾷ
καὶ διμήνου τροφὰς ἀποφέρειν, ὅταν δὲ ταῦτα ποιή-
σωσιν, εἰς 'Ρώμην ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς διαλεξομένους
τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τῶν διαλύσεων, ἐπαινέσαντες ταῦτα
καὶ διὰ ταχέων τό τε ὁψώνιον τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ τὸ
ἀντὶ τοῦ σίτου συγχωρηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαλλίου κατ-
ενέγκαντες² ἀργύριον ἥκον εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην· καὶ
καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν συγγνώμης ἐπὶ τοῖς
γεγονόσι τυχεῖν ἡξίουν καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον

¹ τοῦ λιμοῦ after ἀνάγκης deleted by Kiessling.

² Jacoby : κατενεγκόντες O.

himself of a very few slaves and cattle, and having set fire to their fields, the corn being then ripe, and done not a little other damage to their farmsteads, as none came to oppose him, he led his army home. These were the things accomplished in the consulship of those men.

XXXVI. Their successors in the consulship,¹ Aulus Manlius and Lucius Furius, after the senate had voted that one of them should march against the Veientes, drew lots, according to their custom, to determine which should command the expedition. And the lot falling to Manlius, he speedily led out the troops and encamped near the enemy. The Veientes, being shut up within their walls, defended themselves for some time ; and sending ambassadors both to the other cities of Tyrrhenia and to the Sabines who had lately assisted them, they asked them to send them aid promptly. But when they failed of everything they asked for and had consumed all their provisions, the oldest and most honoured among them, compelled by necessity, came out of the city to the consul with the tokens of suppliants, begging for an end to the war. Manlius ordered them to bring money for a year's pay for the army and provisions for two months and after doing this to send envoys to Rome to treat with the senate for peace. And they, having approved these conditions and speedily brought the pay for the army, together with the money which the consul permitted them to pay in lieu of the corn, came to Rome ; and being introduced into the senate, they sought to obtain forgiveness for the past and for

¹ Cf. Livy ii. 54, 1 f.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

3 ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ πολέμου. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων εἰς ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη λόγων ἐνίκησεν ἡ σπένδεσθαι παραινοῦσα τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον γνώμη, γίνονται τ' ἀνοχαὶ τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς αὐτοὺς τεσσαρακονταετεῖς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπήεσαν πολλὰς τῇ πόλει τῆς εἰρήνης χάριτας εἰδότες, ὁ δὲ Μάλλιος ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐπὶ τῇ καταλύσει τοῦ πολέμου τὸν πεζὸν θρίαμβον αἰτησάμενος, ἔλαβεν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τίμησις ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἥσαν οἱ τιμησάμενοι πολέται σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἥβῃ παῖδας ὀλίγῳ πλείους τρισχιλίων τε καὶ δέκα¹ μυριάδων.

XXXVII. Οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους παραλαβόντες τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν, Λεύκιος Αἴμιλιος Μάμερκος τὸ τρίτον, καὶ Οὐοπίσκος Ἰούλιος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἔβδομης καὶ ἔβδομηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Δάνδης², Ἀργεῖος, Ἀθήνησι δ' ἄρχοντος Χάρητος, ἐπίπονον σφόδρα καὶ ταραχώδη τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσαν, εἰρήνην μὲν ἄγοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν πολέμων (ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ γὰρ ἦν πάντα τὰ διάφορα), ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει στάσεων αὐτοί τε εἰς κινδύνους ἀχθέντες καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀλίγου δεήσαντες ἀπολέσαι. ὡς γὰρ ἀνεπαύσατο τῶν στρατειῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπὶ τὴν διανομὴν εὐθὺς ὥρμησε τῶν δημοσίων ἄγρων. 2 ἦν γάρ τις ἐν τοῖς δημάρχοις θρασὺς καὶ λέγειν οὐκ ἀδύνατος ἀνήρ, Γναῖος Γενύκιος, ὁ παραθήγων τὰς ὄργας τῶν πενήτων. οὗτος ἐκκλησίας συνάγων ἐκάστοτε καὶ ἐκδημαγωγῶν τοὺς ἀπόρους προσ-

¹ καὶ τρισκαΐδεκα B.

² Rutgers (*cf.* Diod. xi. 53, 1) : δάτις Α, δάντιος Βα, δάντις Ββ.

¹ Literally, “the triumph on foot”; see v. 47, 2 f.

the future to be freed from the war. After many arguments on both sides, the motion prevailed to put an end to the war by a treaty, and a truce was granted to them for forty years. Then the envoys departed, feeling very grateful to the commonwealth for the peace. And Manlius, coming to the city, requested and received an ovation¹ for having put an end to the war. There was also a census in this consulship ; the number of the citizens who registered their own names, their wealth, and the names of their sons who had reached manhood was a little over 103,000.²

XXXVII. These consuls³ were succeeded by Lucius Aemilius Mamercus (elected for the third time) and Vopiscus Julius, in the seventy-seventh Olympiad⁴ (the one at which Dandes of Argos won the foot-race), when Chares was archon at Athens. The administration of the new consuls was very difficult and turbulent ; they enjoyed peace, it is true, from foreign wars—for all their quarrels were in a state of quiet—but through the dissensions at home they were not only themselves exposed to dangers, but came near destroying the commonwealth as well. For as soon as the populace had a respite from military expeditions, they at once became eager for a distribution of the public lands. It seems there was among the tribunes a certain bold man, not wanting in eloquence, Gnaeus Genucius, who whetted the passions of the poor. This man, by assembling the populace on every occasion and cajoling the needy,

² One of our best MSS. (B) gives 133,000 ; but this is probably a scribal error.

³ For chaps. 37-39 cf. Livy ii. 54, 2-55, 11.

⁴ 471 B.C.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ηνάγκαζε τοὺς ὑπάτους τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισθέντα περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας συντελεῖν. οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουον, οὐ τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἀρχῇ λέγοντες ἐπιτετάχθαι τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μετὰ Κάσσιον καὶ Οὐεργίνιον ὑπάτοις, πρὸς οὓς τὸ¹ προβούλευμα ἐγράφη· καὶ ἅμα οὐδ' εἶναι νόμους εἰς ἀεὶ κυρίους ἡ ψηφίζεται τὸ συνέδριον, ἀλλὰ πολιτεύματα και-
3 ρῶν² ἐνιαύσιον ἔχοντα ἴσχύν. ταύτας προβαλλο-
μένων τῶν ὑπάτων τὰς αἰτίας ἀδύνατος ὡν ὁ
Γενύκιος αὐτὸὺς ἀναγκάσαι μείζονα ἔξουσίαν ἔχον-
τας ἵταμὴν ὄδὸν ἐτράπετο. τοῖς γὰρ ὑπατεύσασι
τὸ ἐμπροσθεν ἔτος Μαλλίω τε καὶ Λευκίω δίκην
ἐπήνεγκε δημοσίαν, καὶ προεῦπεν ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὸν
δῆμον ἀπολογησομένους, ὁρίσας ἄντικρυς τὴν αἰ-
τίαν τῆς δίκης, ὅτι τὸν δῆμον ἀδικοῦσιν οὐκ ἀπο-
δείξαντες τοὺς δέκα ἄνδρας οὓς ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλή,
4 τοὺς ποιησομένους τὴν τῶν κλήρων διανομὴν. τοῦ
δὲ μὴ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς ὑπάτων ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην,
δώδεκα γενομένων τῶν μεταξὺ ἀρχείων ἀφ' οὗ τὸ
προβούλευμα ἐγράφη, τούτους δὲ προβαλέσθαι τοὺς
ἄνδρας μόνους τῆς ψευσθείσης ὑποσχέσεως, ἐπι-
εικεῖς ἔφερεν αἰτίας· καὶ τελευτῶν ἔφη μόνως ἀν
οὕτως ἀναγκασθῆναι τοὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τότε ὅντας
ὑπάτους κληρουχῆσαι τὴν γῆν, ἐὰν ἐτέρους τινὰς
ἴδωσι δίκην τῷ δήμῳ διδόντας, ἐνθυμηθέντας ὅτι
καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συμβήσεται τὸ αὐτὸ παθεῖν.

XXXVIII. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ παρακαλέσας ἅπαν-

¹ τὸ ABA : καὶ τὸ Bb, Jacoby.

² καιρῶν B : καιρὸν R ; πολιτεύματα ἐνεκα καιρῶν ορ π. κατὰ καιρὸν Capps.

¹ Cf. viii. 76, 2.

² The decree was passed late in the year 484 (viii. 76, 2);

was endeavouring to force the consuls to carry out the decree of the senate concerning the allotment of lands. But the consuls kept refusing to do so, alleging that this duty had been assigned by the senate, not to them, but to the consuls who immediately followed Cassius and Verginius, with reference to whom the preliminary decree had been drawn up.¹ At the same time they pointed out that decrees of the senate were not laws continuing in force forever, but measures designed to meet temporary needs and having validity for one year only. When the consuls put forward these excuses, Genucius, finding himself unable to employ compulsion against them, since they were invested with a superior authority, took a bold course. He brought a public suit against Manlius and Lucius, the consuls of the preceding year, and summoned them to appear before the populace and make their defence, specifying openly the ground for the action, which was that they had wronged the populace in not appointing the decemvirs directed by the senate to distribute the allotments of land. And he advanced plausible reasons for not bringing to trial some of the other consuls, though there had been twelve consulships in the interval since the senate had drawn up this decree,² and for accusing only these men of violating the promise. He ended by saying that the only way the present consuls could be compelled to allot the land would be for them to see some others punished by the populace and thus be reminded that it would be their fate to meet with the same treatment.

XXXVIII. After he had said this and exhorted

Genucius was tribune in 471. (Both dates according to Dionysius' chronology.)

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τας ἥκειν¹ ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην, καθ' ἵερῶν τε ὁμόσας ἡ μὴν ἐμμενεῖν τοῖς ἐννωσμένοις καὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κατηγορήσειν,² ἡμέραν προεῖπεν ἐν ᾧ τὴν δίκην ἔμελλεν ἐπιτελέσειν. τοὺς δὲ πατρικίους, ὡς ἔμαθον ταῦτα, πολὺ δέος εἰσέρχεται καὶ φροντίς, ὅτῳ χρὴ τρόπῳ τούς τε ἄνδρας ἐκλύσασθαι τῆς αἰτίας καὶ τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ τὸ θράσος ἐπισχεῖν. καὶ δὴ ἐδέδοκτο αὐτοῖς, εἴ τι ψηφίσαιτο κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ δῆμος, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ καρτερὸν ἐνισταμένους καὶ εἰ δέοι καὶ εἰς 2 ὅπλα χωροῦντας. οὐ μὴν ἐδέησέ γε τῶν βιαίων οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ταχεῖαν λαβόντος τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ παράδοξον τὴν λύσιν· μιᾶς γὰρ ἡμέρας οὕσης ἔτι λοιπῆς τῇ δίκῃ³ νεκρὸς Γενύκιος ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κοίτης εὑρέθη, σημεῖον οὐδὲν ἔχων οὔτε σφαγῆς οὔτε ἀγχόνης οὔτε φαρμάκου οὔτ’ ἄλλου τῶν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς θανάτων οὐδενός. ὡς δ’ ἐγνώσθη τὸ πάθος καὶ προηνέχθη τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, δαιμόνιόν τι κωλύσεως συγκύρημα ἔδοξεν εἶναι, 3 καὶ αὐτίκα ἡ δίκη διελέλυτο. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα δημάρχων ἀνακαλεῖν τὴν στάσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Γενυκίου κατεγίνωσκον πολλὴν μανίαν. εἰ μὲν οὖν μηδὲν ἔτι πολυπραγμονοῦντες οἱ ὕπατοι διετέλεσαν ἄλλ’ ἀφῆκαν ὡς ὁ δαίμων ἐκοίμησε τὴν στάσιν, οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτοὺς ἔτι κατέλαβε κίνδυνος, νῦν δ’ εἰς αὐθάδειαν καὶ καταφρόνησιν τοῦ δημοτικοῦ τραπόμενοι καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐπιδεῖξαι βουλόμενοι, κακὰ ἐξειργάσαντο μεγάλα. προθέντες γὰρ στρατολογίαν καὶ τοὺς οὐχ

¹ ἥκειν Sylburg : ἥγεν Ο.

² ἐμμενεῖν . . . κατηγορήσειν Kiessling ; ἐμμένειν . . . κατηγορεῖν Ο, Jacoby.

them all to be present at the trial and had solemnly sworn over the victims that he would persist in his resolution and prosecute the men with all possible vigour, he appointed a day for holding the trial. The patricians, upon learning of this, felt great fear and concern, wondering what course they ought to take to secure the men's acquittal of the charge and also to put a stop to the boldness of the demagogue. And they resolved, in case the populace should pass any vote to the prejudice of the consular power, to prevent them from carrying it out, by opposing them with all their power and even resorting to arms if that should be necessary. But they had no need to use any violent means, as the danger was dispelled in a sudden and unexpected manner. For when only one day remained till the trial, Genucius was found dead on his bed without the least sign of stabbing, strangling, poisoning, or any of the other means of killing as the result of a plot. As soon as this unhappy occurrence was known and the body had been brought into the Forum, the event was looked upon as a kind of providential obstacle to the trial, which was straightway dismissed. For none of the other tribunes dared to revive the sedition, but they even looked upon Genucius as having been guilty of great madness. Now if the consuls had not committed any further act of officiousness, but had let the dissension, as Heaven had put it to sleep, remain so, no further danger would have beset them ; but as it was, by turning to arrogance and contempt for the plebeians and by desiring to display the extent of their power, they brought about great mischiefs. For, having appointed a day for levying troops and endeavouring

³ τῇ δίκῃ Kiessling, πρὸ τῆς δίκης Reiske : τῆς δίκης O.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ὑπακούοντας ταῖς τε ἄλλαις ζημίαις καὶ πληγαῖς
ράβδων προσαναγκάζοντες εἰς ἀπόνοιαν ἐποίησαν
τραπέσθαι τοῦ δημοτικοῦ τὸ πλέον, ἀπὸ τοιαύτης
μάλιστ' αἰτίας.

XXXIX. Ἀνήρ τις ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν τὰ πολέ-
μια λαμπρός, Βολέρων Πόπλιος, ἡγεμονίαν ἔσχη-
κὼς λόχων ἐν ταῖς προτέραις στρατείαις, τότε ἀντὶ
λοχαγοῦ στρατιώτης πρὸς αὐτῶν κατεγράφετο.
ὡς δὲ ἡναντιοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἡξίου χώραν ἀτιμοτέραν
λαβεῖν οὐδὲν ἡμαρτηκὼς ἐν ταῖς προτέραις στρα-
τείαις, δυσανασχετοῦντες οἱ ὕπατοι τὴν παρρησίαν
αὐτοῦ τοῖς ράβδούχοις ἐκέλευσαν τὴν ἐσθῆτά τε
περικαταρρήξαι καὶ ταῖς ράβδοις τὸ σῶμα ξαίνειν.
2 ὁ δὲ νεανίας τούς τε δημάρχους ἐπεκαλεῖτο, καί, εἴ
τι ἀδικεῖ, κρίσιν ἐπὶ τῶν δημοτῶν ὑπέχειν ἡξίου.
ὡς δὲ οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν οἱ ὕπατοι, ἀλλὰ
τοῖς ράβδούχοις ἀγειν καὶ τύπτειν ἐπεκελεύοντο,
οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἡγησάμενος εἶναι τὴν ὕβριν αὐτὸς
3 ἔαυτῷ ταμίας τῆς δίκης¹ γίνεται. τόν τε γὰρ πρώ-
τον προσελθόντα τῶν ράβδούχων παίων εἰς τὸ πρόσ-
ωπον ἐναντίαις πυγμαῖς νεανίας καὶ ἔρρωμένος ὥν²
ἀνὴρ ἀνατρέπει καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ. ἀγανακτησάν-
των δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ πᾶσιν ἅμα τοῖς ὑπηρέταις
προσελθεῖν κελευσάντων δεινόν τι³ τοῖς παροῦσι
τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐφάνη· καὶ αὐτίκα συστραφέντες
ἀθρόοι καὶ ἀναβοήσαντες τὸ παρακλητικὸν τῆς
ἀλλήλων ὄργῆς τόν τε νεανίσκον ἐξήρπασαν καὶ
τοὺς ράβδούχους ἀπέστησαν παίοντες καὶ τελευτῶν-
τες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ὥρμησαν, καὶ εἰ μὴ κατα-
λιπόντες ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔφυγον, ἀνήκεστον ἄν-

¹ τῆς δίκης B : om. R.

² ὥν Capps : om. O, Jacoby.

³ τι B : om. R.

to coerce the disobedient by various punishments, including even scourging with rods, they drove the greater part of the plebeians to desperation. This was caused particularly by the incident I shall now relate.

XXXIX. A certain man of the plebeians, famous for his exploits in war, Volero Publius,¹ who had commanded centuries in the late campaigns, was now listed by the consuls as a common soldier instead of a centurion. Upon his objecting to this and refusing to take a lower rank when he had been guilty of no misconduct in the former campaigns, the consuls, offended at his frankness, ordered the lictors to strip him and lash his body with their rods. The young man called upon the tribunes for assistance, and asked, if he were guilty of any crime, to stand trial before the plebeians. When the consuls paid no heed to him but repeated their orders to the lictors to take him away and flog him, he regarded the insult as intolerable and took justice into his own hands. The first lictor who approached him he struck squarely in the face with his fists, and being a young man and vigorous, he knocked him down; and the next one likewise. When the consuls in their anger ordered all their attendants to approach him at the same time, the plebeians who were present thought it an outrageous thing. And immediately gathering together in a body and shouting the cry used to incite one another's resentment, they snatched the young man away and repulsed the lictors with blows, and at last made a rush against the consuls; and if those magistrates had not left the Forum and fled, the mob

¹ The correct form of the name is Volero Publilius (Livy ii. 55, 4).

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

4 τι κακὸν ἔξειργάσαντο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου διειστήκει πᾶσα ἡ πόλις, καὶ οἱ τέως ἡσυχάζοντες δῆμαρχοι τότε ἡγριοῦντο καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατηγόρουν. περιειστήκει τε ἡ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας στάσις¹ εἰς ἔτέραν² μείζονα διὰ τὸν³ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς πολιτείας ἀγῶνα. οἱ μέν γε πατρίκιοι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ὡς καταλυομένης αὐτῶν τῆς ἔξουσίας συναγαν-
 ακτοῦντες τὸν χεῖρας⁴ ἐπιβαλεῖν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις
 5 τολμήσαντα κατὰ κρημνοῦ βαλεῖν ἡξίουν· οἱ δὲ δημοτικοὶ συστρέψαντες αὐτοὺς κατεβόων τε καὶ παρεκελεύοντο μὴ προδιδόναι σφῶν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν,
 ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἄγειν καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατηγορεῖν καὶ δίκης τινὸς παρ’ αὐτῶν ἡξίουν τυχεῖν ὅτι τὸν ἐπικαλεσάμενον τὴν ἐκ τῶν δημάρχων βοήθειαν καὶ ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ κρίσιν ὑπέχειν,
 εἴ τι πλημμελεῖ, βουλόμενον, οὐδετέρου τυχεῖν εἴσαν τῶν δικαίων, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀνδραπόδου μοίρᾳ τὸν ἐλεύθερον καὶ πολίτην ἔθεντο παίειν ἐπικελευό-
 6 μενοι. ἀντιτεταγμένων δὴ τούτων καὶ οὐδετέρων εἶαι βουλομένων τοῖς ἔτέροις, ἅπας ὁ λοιπὸς τῆς ὑπατείας ἐκείνης ἐδαπανήθη χρόνος οὔτε πολεμι-
 καῖς πράξεις κοσμηθεὶς καλαῖς οὔτε πολιτικαῖς λόγου ἀξίαις.

XL. Ἐπιστάντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ὑπατοι μὲν ἀπεδείχθησαν Λεύκιος Πινάριος καὶ Πόπλιος Φούριος. ἐν ἀρχῇ δὲ τοῦ ἔτους εὐθὺς ὀττείας τινὸς

¹ στάσις Cmg, Sylburg : om. R.

² Kiessling : ἔτερον O, Jacoby.

³ διὰ τὸν om. Cobet, Jacoby.

⁴ χεῖρας added here by Cobet, τὰς χεῖρας after ἐπιβαλεῖν by Reiske.

would have done some irreparable mischief. As a result of this incident the whole city was divided, and those tribunes who till then had remained quiet grew wild with rage and inveighed against the consuls. Thus the dissension over the land-allotment had turned into another quarrel of greater consequence because of the contest concerning the form of government. On the one hand the patricians, believing that the power of the consuls was being destroyed, shared their indignation and demanded that the man who had dared to lay hands on their attendants should be hurled down from the precipice.¹ On the other hand the plebeians, assembling together, raised a loud clamour and exhorted one another not to betray their liberty, but to carry the matter before the senate, to accuse the consuls and to endeavour to obtain some justice from them because they had refused to permit a man who had invoked the assistance of the tribunes and asked to be tried before the populace, in case he were guilty of any wrongdoing, to obtain either of these rights, but had treated him like a slave, though he was free born and a citizen, when they ordered him to be beaten. The two parties being thus arrayed against one another and neither being willing to yield to the other, all the remaining time of this consulship was consumed without being marked either by any glorious exploits in war or by any achievements at home worthy of mention.

XL. The election of magistrates being at hand,² Lucius Pinarius and Publius Furius were chosen consuls. At the very beginning of this year the city

¹ The Tarpeian Rock.

² For chaps. 40-42 cf. Livy ii. 56, 1-5.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἡ πόλις ἐπληρώθη καὶ φόβου δαιμονίου τεράτων τε
καὶ σημείων πολλῶν γινομένων. καὶ οἱ τε μάντεις
ἀπαντεῖς καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταὶ χόλου δαιμόνων
μηνύματα εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα ἀπέφαινον, ἱερῶν τινων
2 οὐχ ὁσίως οὐδὲ καθαρῶς ἐπιτελουμένων. καὶ μετ'
οὐ πολὺ¹ νόσος ἐνέσκηψεν εἰς τὰς γυναικας ἡ²
καλουμένη λοιμικὴ καὶ θάνατος ὅσος οὕπω πρό-
τερον, μάλιστα δ'³ εἰς τὰς ἐγκύμονας. ὡμοτοκοῦ-
σαι τε γὰρ καὶ νεκρὰ τίκτουσαι συναπέθνησκον
τοῖς βρέφεσι, καὶ οὕτε λιτανεῖαι πρὸς ἔδεσι καὶ
βωμοῦς γινόμεναι θεῶν οὕτε καθαρτήριοι θυσίαι
περὶ τε πόλεως καὶ οἴκων ἴδιων ἐπιτελούμεναι
3 παῦλαν αὐταῖς⁴ ἔφερον τῶν κακῶν. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ
συμφορᾷ τῆς πόλεως οὕσης τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς τῶν
ἱερῶν γίνεται μῆνυσις ὑπὸ δούλου τινὸς ὅτι μία
τῶν ἱεροποιῶν παρθένων τῶν φυλαττουσῶν τὸ
ἀθάνατον πῦρ, Ὁρβινία, τὴν παρθενίαν ἀπολώλεκε
καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ θύει τὰ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ οὖσα καθαρά.
κάκεῖνοι μεταστήσαντες αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ
προθέντες δίκην, ἐπειδὴ καταφανῆς ἐγένετο ἐλεγχ-
θεῖσα, ῥάβδοις τε ἐμαστίγωσαν καὶ πομπεύσαντες
4 διὰ τῆς πόλεως ζῶσαν κατώρυξαν. τῶν δὲ διαπρα-
ξαμένων τὴν ἀνοσίαν φθορὰν ὁ μὲν ἔτερος ἐαυτὸν
διεχρήσατο, τὸν δ' ἔτερον οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπίσκοποι
συλλαβόντες ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάστιξιν αἰκισάμενοι καθ-
άπερ ἀνδράποδον ἀπέκτειναν. ἡ μὲν οὖν νόσος ἡ
κατασκῆψα εἰς τὰς γυναικας καὶ ὁ πολὺς αὐτῶν
φθόρος μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον εὐθὺς ἐπαύσατο.

XLI. Ἡ δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου διαμένουσα ἐν τῇ

¹ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Jacoby : οὐ μετὰ πολὺ O.

² ἡ added by Reiske. ³ δ' added by Reiske.

⁴ αὐταῖς R : αὐτοῖς B.

was filled with a kind of religious awe and fear of the gods owing to the occurrence of many prodigies and omens. All the augurs and the pontiffs¹ declared that these occurrences were indications of divine anger, aroused because some rites were not being performed in a pure and holy manner. And not long afterwards the disease known as the pestilence attacked the women, particularly such as were with child, and more of them died than ever before ; for as they miscarried and brought forth dead children, they died together with their infants. And neither supplications made at the statues and altars of the gods nor expiatory sacrifices performed on behalf of the state and of private households gave the women any respite from their ills. While the commonwealth was suffering from such a calamity, information was given to the pontiffs by a slave that one of the Vestal virgins who have the care of the perpetual fire, Urbinia by name, had lost her virginity and, though unchaste, was performing the public sacrifices. The pontiffs removed her from her sacred offices, brought her to trial, and after her guilt had been clearly established, they ordered her to be scourged with rods, to be carried through the city in solemn procession and then to be buried alive. One of the two men who had perpetrated the impious defilement killed himself ; the other was seized by the pontiffs, who ordered him to be scourged in the Forum like a slave and then put to death. After this action the pestilence which had attacked the women and caused so great a mortality among them promptly ceased.

XLI. But the sedition raised by the plebeians

¹ Literally, “ interpreters of religious matters (or rites).”
Cf. ii. 73, 3.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πόλει στάσις, ἦν οἱ δημόται πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους ἐστασίαζον, ἀνίστατο πάλιν. ὁ δ' ἔξεγείρων αὐτὴν δῆμαρχος ἦν Πόπλιος Βολέρων, ὁ τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ τοῖς περὶ Αἰμίλιον τε καὶ Ἰούλιον ὑπάτοις ἀπειθήσας, ὅτ'¹ αὐτὸν ἀντὶ λοχαγοῦ στρατιώτην κατέγραφον, οὐδὲν δι' ἄλλο τι μᾶλλον ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πενήτων τοῦ δήμου² προστάτης (γένος τε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἦν καὶ τεθραμμένος ἐν πολλῇ ταπεινότητι καὶ ἀπορίᾳ), ἀλλ' ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ὑπάτων βασιλικὸν ἔχουσαν ἀξίωμα τέως πρῶτος ἔδοξεν ἴδιώτης ἀνὴρ ἀπειθείᾳ ταπεινῶσαι, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον διὰ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἃς ἐποιεῖτο μετιὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων, ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενος 2 αὐτῶν τὴν ἴσχυν. ὃς ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἔξεγένετο αὐτῷ λωφήσαντος τοῦ δαιμονίου χόλου τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν, συναγαγὼν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν νόμον εἰσφέρει περὶ τῶν δημαρχικῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων, μετάγων αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς φρατριακῆς ψηφοφορίας, ἦν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κουριάτιν³ καλοῦσιν,⁴ ἐπὶ τὴν φυλετικήν. τίς δὲ τούτων διαφορὰ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων, 3 ἔγώ σημανῶ. τὰς μὲν φρατριακὰς ψηφοφορίας ἔδει προβούλευσαμένης τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ πλήθους κατὰ φράτρας τὰς ψήφους ἐπενέγκαντος, καὶ

¹ ὅτε Sylburg : ὅτι Ο.

² τῶν πενήτων τοῦ δήμου Sylburg : τοῦ τῶν πενήτων δήμου Ο.

³ κουριάτιν (cf. 46, 4) Cobet : κυράτιν ΑΒ.

⁴ κυράτιν καλοῦσιν Α : καλοῦσι κυράτιν Β, καλοῦσιν κουριάτιν Jacoby.

¹ Cf. ii. 7, 2 f.

² Dionysius has no special phrase for the *concilium plebis*, but uses the same terms as for the assemblies of the whole people. What he thus ambiguously relates here was probably a change from the *concilium plebis curiatum* to the *concilium plebis tributum*. By comparing together the two

against the patricians, which had long continued in the city, was starting up again. The person who stirred it up was Volero Publius, one of the tribunes, the same man who the year before had disobeyed the consuls Aemilius and Julius when they would have listed him as a common soldier instead of a centurion. He was chosen by the poor as leader of the populace, not so much for any other reason—for he was not only of common birth, but had been brought up in great obscurity and want—but because he was regarded as the first person in private life who by his disobedience had humbled the consular power, which till then had been invested with the royal dignity, and still more by reason of the promises he had made, when he stood candidate for the tribunate against the patricians, to deprive them of their power. This man, as soon as it was possible for him to attend to public business, now that the divine anger had abated, called an assembly of the populace and proposed a law concerning the tribunician elections, transferring them from the assembly of the clans,¹ called by the Romans the curiate assembly, to the tribal assembly.² What the difference was between these assemblies I will now point out. In order that the voting in the curiate assembly might be valid it was necessary that the senate should pass a preliminary decree and that the plebeians should vote on it by *curiae*, and that

passages (vi. 87, 3 and 89, 1) in which the establishment of the tribunate is described, we see that the first tribunes were elected by a *concilium plebis*, meeting by *curiae*. It is to be noted that in the second of these passages, as in so many other places, Dionysius uses the word δῆμος, which can mean either the plebs alone or the whole people; his distinctive term for plebeians is δημοτικοί, for plebs δημοτικόν or πλῆθος (sometimes both together).

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

μετ' ἀμφότερα ταῦτα τῶν παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου σημείων τε καὶ οἰωνῶν μηδὲν ἐναντιωθέντων, τότε κυρίας εἶναι· τὰς δὲ φυλετικὰς μήτε προβουλεύματος γενομένου μήτε τῶν ἱερέων¹ τε καὶ οἰωνοσκόπων ἐπιθεσπισάντων, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ τελεσθείσας ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν τέλος ἔχειν. καὶ ἥσαν ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν τεττάρων δημάρχων οἱ συνεισφέροντες αὐτῷ δύο δῆμαρχοι τὸν νόμον· οὓς προσεταιρισάμενος ἐλαττόνων ὄντων τῶν μὴ ταῦτὰ² βουλομένων περιῆν. οἱ δ' ὅπατοι καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ πάντες οἱ πατρíκιοι κωλύειν ἐπεχείρουν τὸν νόμον· ἀφικόμενοί τε κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐν ᾧ προεῖπον οἱ δῆμαρχοι κυρώσειν τὸν νόμον ἡμέρᾳ, παντοδαποὺς διῆλθον λόγους, τῶν θ' ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ὅτῳ βουλομένῳ ἦν τὰς ἐνούσας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ διεξιόντος ἀτοπίας. ἀντιλεξάντων δὲ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ αὖθις τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τῆς ἀψιμαχίας τῶν λόγων ἐκμηκυνθείσης, ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διέλυσεν εἰς νύκτα συγκλεισθεὶς ὁ χρόνος. προθέντων δὲ πάλιν τῶν δημάρχων εἰς τρίτην ἀγορὰν τὴν περὶ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν καὶ συνελθόντος ἔτι πλείονος εἰς αὐτὴν ὅχλου τὸ παραπλήσιον τῷ προτέρῳ συνέβη γενέσθαι πάθος. τοῦτο συνιδὼν ὁ Πόπλιος ἔγνω μήτε τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπιτρέπειν ἔτι τοῦ νόμου κατηγορεῖν μήτε πατρικίους ἔαν τῇ ψηφοφορίᾳ παρεῖναι· καθ' ἔταιρείας γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ κατὰ συστροφὰς ἀμα τοὺς ἑαυτῶν πελάταις οὐκ ὀλίγοις οὖσι πολλὰ μέρη τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατεῖχον, ἐπικελεύοντές τε τοὺς κατηγοροῦσι τοῦ νόμου καὶ θορυβοῦντες τοὺς ἀπολογουμένους καὶ

¹ Reiske : ἱερῶν O.

² Sylburg : ταῦτα AB.

after both these votes the heavenly signs and omens should offer no opposition ; whereas, in the case of the voting of the tribal assembly, neither the preliminary decree of the senate was necessary nor the sanction of the priests and augurs, but it was only necessary that it should be carried through and completed by the members of the tribes in a single day. Now of the other four tribunes there were two who joined with Volero in proposing this law ; and by enlisting the co-operation of these two he carried the day, as those who were not of the same mind were in the minority. But the consuls, the senate, and all the patricians sought to prevent the law from passing ; and coming to the Forum in great numbers on the day appointed by the tribunes for ratifying the law, they delivered all kinds of speeches, the consuls, the oldest senators and everyone else who so desired enumerating the absurdities inherent in the law. When the tribunes had argued on the other side and the consuls had spoken a second time and the verbal skirmishing had lasted a long while, that assembly at least was dispersed by the closing in of night-time. The tribunes having again appointed the third market-day for the consideration of the law and an even greater throng flocking to the Forum on that day, the same thing happened as before. Publius, perceiving this, resolved neither to permit the consuls to inveigh against the law again nor to allow patricians to be present at the voting. For the patricians in their partisan bands and in groups together with their clients, who were numerous, occupied many parts of the Forum, shouting encouragement to those who inveighed against the law and noisily interrupting those who defended it, and doing many other things

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἄλλα πολλὰ πράττοντες ἀκοσμίας τε καὶ βίας τῆς
ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις ἐσομένης¹ μηνύματα.

XLII. Ἐπέσχε δ' αὐτοῦ τὰ βουλεύματα ὅντα
τυραννικὰ ἔτέρα συμπεσούσα θεήλατος συμφορά.
νόσος γὰρ ἥψατο λοιμικὴ τῆς πόλεως, γενομένη μὲν
καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν, μάλιστα δὲ πλεονά-
σασα κατὰ τὴν Ἄρωμην· καὶ οὕτε ἀνθρωπίνη βοή-
θεια ἥρκει τοῖς κάμνουσιν οὐδεμίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ
ἴσω οἵ τε σὺν πολλῇ θεραπευόμενοι φροντίδι καὶ
οἷς μηδὲν ἐγίνετο τῶν δεόντων ἀπέθητσκον· οὕτε
λιτανεῖαι θεῶν καὶ θυσίαι καὶ ἐφ' οὓς ἀνθρωποι
τελευταίους² ἐν ταῖς τοιαῖσδε ἀναγκάζονται κατα-
φεύγειν συμφοραῖς, οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα τε γινόμενοι καὶ
ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ καθαροί, τότε προσωφέλουν,
διέκρινέ τε τὸ πάθος οὐχ ἡλικίαν, οὐ φύσιν, οὐ
ῥώμην ἢ ἀσθένειαν σωμάτων, οὐ τέχνην, οὐκ ἄλλο
τι τῶν δοκούντων κουφίζειν τὴν νόσου,³ ἀλλὰ γυ-
ναιξί τε ἐνέπιπτε καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γηραιοῖς καὶ
2 νέοις. οὐ μὴν πολὺν⁴ κατέσχε χρόνον, ὅπερ αἴτιον
ἐγένετο τοῦ μὴ σύμπασαν διαφθαρῆναι τὴν πόλιν·
ἀλλὰ ποταμοῦ δίκην ἢ πυρὸς ἀθρόα τοῖς ἀνθρώ-
ποις ἐμπεσούσα τὴν τε προσβολὴν ὀξεῖαν καὶ τὴν
ἀπαλλαγὴν ταχεῖαν ἔλαβεν. ὡς δὲ τὸ δεινὸν

¹ ἐσομένης Gelenius : ἔχομένης R, Jacoby, om. B, ἀρχο-
μένης Sintenis, ἔρχομένης (or ἐπερχομένης) Post.

² ἐφ' οὓς ἀνθρωποι τελευταίους B : ἐφ' οἷς ἀνθρωποι τελευ-
ταῖον AC.

³ Reiske transposed the words οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν δοκούντων
κουφίζειν τὴν νόσου to follow προσωφέλουν. Kiessling, accept-
ing this transposition, proposed οὕτε ἄλλο τι, and, in place
of οὐ τέχνην, either (a) οὕτε τέχνη, to stand between προ-
σωφέλουν and οὕτε ἄλλο τι, or (b) οὐ τύχην (cf. vii. 12, 4),
to follow σωμάτων.

⁴ οὐ μὴν πολὺν Λ : οὐ πολὺν δὲ B.

that were indications of the disorder and violence that there would be in the voting.

XLII. These designs of Publius, pointing toward a tyranny, were checked by a fresh calamity sent from Heaven. For the city was visited with a pestilence, which occurred, indeed, in the rest of Italy also, but was especially prevalent in Rome. No human assistance could relieve the sick ; but alike whether they were attended with great care or received none of the necessary attentions, they died all the same. No supplications to the gods nor sacrifices nor the final refuge to which men under such calamities are compelled to have recourse—private and public expiations—contributed any help at that time ; and the disease made no distinction of age or sex, of strong or weak constitutions, of skill, or of any other of the agencies supposed to lighten the malady,¹ but attacked both men and women, old and young. However, it did not last long—a circumstance which saved the city from utter destruction ; but, like a river in flood or a conflagration, falling upon the people with full force, it made a sharp attack and a speedy departure. As soon as the calamity abated, Publius,

¹ The phrases “of skill” and “of any other of the agencies supposed to lighten the malady” seem to be out of their proper place. According to Kiessling’s transposition we should have, following “contributed any help at that time,” either (1), retaining *τέχνη*, “nor did skill, nor any of the other agencies supposed to lighten the malady” ; or (2), substituting *τύχην* for *τέχνην* and retaining in its present position, “nor did any of the other agencies supposed to lighten the malady ; and the disease made no distinction of age or sex, of strong or weak constitutions, or of one’s circumstances (one’s station in life), but attacked both men and women,” etc.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

έλώφησεν, ἐπ' ἔξοδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὃν δὲ Πόπλιος,
ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐδύνατο κυρῶσαι τὸν νόμον ἐν τῷ περιόντι
χρόνῳ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἐπιστάντων, μετήσει
πάλιν τὴν δημαρχίαν εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτόν, πολλὰ
καὶ μεγάλα τοῖς δημόταις ὑπισχνούμενος· καὶ
ἀποδείκνυται πάλιν δήμαρχος ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δύο
3 τῶν συναρχόντων. οἱ δὲ πατρíκιοι πρὸς τοῦτο
ἀντεμηχανήσαντο πικρὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μισόδημον καὶ
μηδὲν ἐλαττώσοντα τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἐπί τὴν
ὑπατείαν προαγαγεῖν, "Αππιον Κλαύδιον, υἱὸν
Ἀππίου τοῦ πλεῖστα τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τὴν κάθοδον
ἐναντιωθέντος. καὶ αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἀντειπόντα καὶ
οὐδὲν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐλθεῖν βουληθέντα ἔνεκα τῶν
ἀρχαιρεσίων, οὐδὲν ἥττον προύβούλευσάν τε καὶ
ἐψηφίσαντο ἀπόντα ὕπατον.

XLIII. Τελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων κατὰ
πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν, οἱ γὰρ πένητες ἔξέλιπον τὸ
πεδίον ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε ὄνομασθέντα ἥκουσαν,
παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατείαν Τίτος Κοῖντιος
Καπιτωλῖνος καὶ "Αππιος Κλαύδιος Σαβῖνος, οὗτε
τὰς φύσεις οὕτε τὰς προαιρέσεις ἔχοντες δόμοιας.
2 Ἀππίου μὲν γὰρ ἦν γνώμη περισπᾶν περὶ τὰς ἔξω
στρατείας τὸν ἀργὸν καὶ πένητα δῆμον, ἵνα τῶν τε
καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίων ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας εὐπορῶν
τοῖς αὐτοῦ πόνοις ὃν ἐν χρείᾳ μάλιστα ὑπῆρχε
καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πόλει διαπραττόμενος,

¹ See vi. 59 ff. The reference is to the return from the Sacred Mount.

whose magistracy was near expiring, since he could not get the law confirmed during the remainder of his term, as the election of magistrates was at hand, stood again for the tribuneship for the following year, making many big promises to the plebeians ; and he was again chosen tribune by them, together with two of his colleagues. The patricians, to meet this situation, contrived to advance to the consulship a man of stern disposition and an enemy of the populace, one who would not diminish in any respect the power of the aristocracy, namely, Appius Claudius, the son of that Appius who had most strongly opposed the populace in the matter of their return.¹ And though he protested much and even refused to go to the field ² for the election, they nevertheless passed the preliminary vote and appointed him consul ³ in his absence.

XLIII. After the election ⁴ had been carried through quite easily ⁵—for the poorer people left the field ² as soon as they heard Appius named ⁶—Titus Quintius Capitolinus and Appius Claudius Sabinus succeeded to the consulship, men alike neither in their dispositions nor in their principles. For it was the opinion of Appius that the idle and needy populace should be kept employed in military expeditions abroad, in order that while supplying themselves from the enemy's country by their own toils with an abundance of the daily necessities of which they were in the greatest need and at the same time accomplishing results advantageous to the common-

² The Campus Martius.

³ i.e. they named him as their candidate for the consulship.

⁴ For chaps. 43-49 cf. Livy ii. 56, 5-58, 2.

⁵ Dionysius is speaking from the patricians' point of view.

⁶ i.e. heard his candidacy announced.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ηκιστα τοῦς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου διοικοῦσι¹ τὰ κοινὰ δυσμενής τε καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦ· πολέμου δὲ πᾶσαν ἔσεσθαι πρόφασιν εὔλογον ἀπέφαινεν ἡγεμονίας ἀντιποιουμένη πόλει καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπιφθονουμένη, κατά τε τὸ εἰκὸς τοῦς γεγονόσιν ἥδη τὰ μέλλοντα εἰκάζειν ἡξίου, ἐπιλεγόμενος, ὅσαι ἥδη κινήσεις ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὅτι πᾶσαι κατὰ 3 τὰς ἀναπαύλας ἐγένοντο τῶν πολέμων. Κοιντίῳ δ' οὐκ ἐδόκει πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν οὐδένα, ἀγαπητὸν ἀποφαίνοντι εἰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναγκαίους τε καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐπαγομένους κινδύνους καλούμενος ὁ δῆμος εὐπειθὴς γένοιτο, καὶ διδάσκοντι ὡς εἰ βίᾳ προσάξουσι τοῖς μὴ πειθομένοις εἰς ἀπόνοιαν ἀναγκάσουσιν ἐλθεῖν τὸ δημοτικόν, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν ὑπατοι· ἐξ ὧν κινδυνεύσειν αὐτοὺς δυεῖν θάτερον, ἦ δι' αἰματος καὶ φόνωι καταπαῦσαι τὴν στάσιν ἢ θεραπεύειν αἰσχρῶς ὑπομεῖναι τὸ δημοτικόν. ἦν δ' ἡ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκείνου ἡγεμονία τῷ Κοιντίῳ προσήκουσα, ὥστε ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ὑπάτων μηδὲν ἄκοντος ἐκείνου ποιεῖν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον δήμαρχοι οὐθὲν ἔτι διαμελλήσαντες τὸν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ οὐ δυνηθέντα νόμον ἐπικυρωθῆναι² πάλιν εἰσέφερον, προσγράψαντες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀγορανόμων ἀρχεῖον ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ψηφοφορεῖσθαι ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ πάντα τὰλλα ὅσα ἐν τῷ δήμῳ πράττεσθαι τε καὶ ἐπικυροῦσθαι δεήσει ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι

¹ Sylburg : συνδιοικοῦσι Α, συνοικοῦσι ΒC.

² νόμον ἐπικυρωθῆναι Β : ἐπικυρωθῆναι νόμον R.

BOOK IX. 43, 2-4

wealth, they might be least likely to be hostile and troublesome to the senators who were administering public affairs. He declared that any excuse for making war would be justifiable for a state that laid claim to supremacy and was envied by all ; and he asked them, applying the principle of probability, to judge what was to happen in the future by what had already taken place in the past, adding that all the commotions which had occurred in the commonwealth in the past had happened during the respites from war. Quintius, on the other hand, thought they ought not to wage any war. He declared they ought to be satisfied if the populace, when called upon to face the inevitable dangers brought upon them from outside, yielded ready obedience ; and he showed that if they attempted to use force with the disobedient they would drive the plebeians to desperation, as the consuls before them had done. As a result, they would run the risk either of putting down the sedition with bloodshed and slaughter or of submitting to a shameful courting of the plebeians. In that month the command belonged to Quintius, so that the other consul was bound to do nothing without his consent. In the meantime Publius and the other two tribunes without further delay were again proposing the law which they had been unable to get ratified the year before, with this additional provision that the college of aediles¹ should also be chosen in the same assemblies,² and that everything else that was to be done and ratified by the populace should be voted on in like manner by the members of the

¹ For the relation of the (plebeian) aediles to the tribunes see vi. 90, 2 f. Curule aediles were not appointed until a century later.

² See chap. 41, 2 ff.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

κατὰ τὸ αὐτό· ὅπερ ἦν ἄρα τῆς μὲν βουλῆς κατάλυσις φανερά, τοῦ δὲ δήμου δυναστεία.

XLIV. Τοῦτο μαθοῦσι τοῖς ὑπάτοις φροντὶς εἰσήσηι καὶ λογισμὸς¹ ὅπως ἀν ἐν τάχει καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ παρακινοῦν καὶ στασιάζον ἔξαιρεθῇ. ὁ μὲν οὖν "Αππιος ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα καλεῖν γνώμην ἐδίδου τοὺς βουλομένους² σώζεσθαι τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν· εἰ δέ τινες ἐναντιωθήσονται³ σφίσι,⁴ τούτους ἐν πολεμίων ποιεῖσθαι μοίρᾳ. ὁ δὲ Κοῦντιος λόγῳ πείθειν ὥστε δεῦν τοὺς δημοτικοὺς καὶ μεταδιδάσκειν ὡς δι' ἄγνοιαν τοῦ συμφέροντος εἰς ὀλέθρια βουλεύματα φερομένους· ἐσχάτης μανίας ἔργον εἶναι λέγων, ἢ παρ' ἕκόντων ἔξεστι φέρεσθαι τῶν συμπολιτευομένων, ταῦτα παρ' ἀκόντων βούλεσθαι λαμβάνειν. ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συμπαραληφθέντων εἰς τὸ συνέδριον τὴν Κοῦντίου γνώμην παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ ὑπατοι λόγον ἡτοῦντο παρὰ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ χρόνον. μόλις δ' ἀμφοῦν τυχόντες, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ἦν ἡτήσαντο παρ' αὐτῶν ἡμέραν, ὅχλου παντοδαποῦ συνεληλυθότος εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ὃν ἀμφότεραι παρεσκευάσαντο σύμμαχον ἔαυταῖς ἐκ παρακλήσεως αἱ ἀρχαί, παρῆσαν ὡς κατηγορήσοντες τοῦ νόμουν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κοῦντιος, τά τε ἄλλα ἐπιεικῆς ὥν ἀνήρ καὶ δῆμον οἰκειώσασθαι λόγῳ πιθανώτατος, πρῶτος αἴτησάμενος λόγον,⁵ ἐπιδέξιόν τινα καὶ κεχαρισμένην ἀπασι διεξῆλθε δημηγορίαν, ὥστε τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου λέγοντας εἰς πολλὴν ἐλθεῖν

¹ Kiessling : λόγος Ο.

² τοὺς βουλομένους Α : τοῖς βουλομένοις Ρ.

³ ἐναντιωθήσονται Ρ : ἐναντία θήσονται Βα, Jacoby.

tribes. This, now, clearly meant the overthrow of the senate and the dominance of the populace.

XLIV. When the consuls were informed of this, they grew anxious and considered by what means the commotion and sedition might speedily and safely be removed. Appius advised summoning to arms all who wished the constitution of their fathers to be preserved, and if any opposed them, to look upon them as enemies. But Quintius thought they ought to use persuasion with the plebeians and convince them that through ignorance of their own interest they were being led into pernicious counsels. He said that it was the extreme of folly to wish to obtain from their fellow citizens against their will the things which they might receive by their consent. The advice of Quintius being approved of by the other members of the senate, the consuls went to the Forum and asked the tribunes to give them a hearing and to appoint a time for it. And having obtained both requests with difficulty, when the day they had asked of them had come, the Forum being filled with a great concourse of people of all sorts, which the magistrates on both sides had got together under instructions to support them, the consuls presented themselves with the intention of speaking against the law. Quintius, accordingly, who was a fair-minded man in all respects and most capable of winning over the populace by his eloquence, first desired leave to speak, and then made an adroit speech that was acceptable to everybody, with the result that those who spoke in favour of the law were

⁴ σοφίσι Kiessling : σοφίσι τὰ ὅπλα Ba, Jacoby, σοφίσι πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα R.

⁵ τὸν before λόγον deleted by Cobet.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

άμηχανίαν, οὕτε δικαιότερα λέγειν ἔχοντας οὕτε
 5 ἐπιεικέστερα. καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἔτι πολυπραγμονεῦν ὁ
 συνύπατος αὐτοῦ προείλετο, συγγνοὺς ἀν ὁ δῆμος
 ώς οὕτε δίκαια οὕθ' ὅσια ἀξιῶν ἔλυσε τὸν νόμον·
 νῦν δ' ἐκείνου λόγον διελθόντος ὑπερήφανον καὶ
 βαρὺν ἀκουσθῆναι πένησι χαλεπὸς εἰς ὄργὴν ἐγέ-
 νετο καὶ ἀμείλικτος καὶ εἰς ἕριν ἥλθεν ὅσην οὕπω
 6 πρότερον. οὐ γὰρ ώς ἐλευθέροις τε καὶ πολίταις
 ὁ ἀνὴρ διαλεγόμενος, οἱ τοῦ θεῦναι τὸν νόμον ἦ
 λῦσαι κύριοι ἥσαν, ἀλλ' ώς ἐν ἀτίμοις ἦ ξένοις
 ἦ μὴ βεβαίως ἔχουσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔξουσιάζων,
 πικρὰς καὶ ἀνυπομονήτους ἐποιήσατο κατηγορίας,
 τῶν τε χρεῶν τὰς ἀποκοπὰς αὐτοῖς ὀνειδίζων καὶ
 τῶν ὑπάτων τὴν ἀπόστασιν προφέρων, δτε τὰ ιερὰ
 σημεῖα ἀρπάσαντες ὤχοντο ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
 φυγὴν ἐπιβάλλοντες ἔαυτοῖς ἐκούσιον· τούς θ' ὅρ-
 κους ἀνακαλούμενος οὓς ὡμοσαν τὰ ὅπλα περὶ τῆς
 γειναμένης¹ αὐτοὺς² γῆς ἀναλαμβάνοντες, οἷς κατ'
 7 αὐτῆς ἐκείνης ἐχρήσαντο. τοιγάρτοι θαυμαστὸν
 οὐδὲν ἔφησεν αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν, εἰ θεοὺς μὲν ἐπιορκή-
 σαντες, ἥγεμόνας δὲ καταλιπόντες, πόλιν δ' ἔρημον
 τὸ καθ' ἔαυτοὺς εἶναι³ μέρος ἀφέντες, ἐπὶ δὲ
 πίστεως συγχύσει καὶ νόμων ἀνατροπῇ καὶ πολι-
 τεύματος πατρίου φθορᾷ ποιησάμενοι τὴν κάθοδον,
 οὐ μετριάζουσιν οὐδὲ χρηστοὺς δύνανται πολίτας
 ἔαυτοὺς παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰεί τινος ὄρέγονται πλεον-
 εξίας καὶ παρανομίας, τοτὲ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἔξεναι σφί-
 σιν ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἔαυτῶν ἀποδεικνύναι καὶ

¹ περὶ τῆς γειναμένης Steph. : περὶ τῆς γενομένης Α, περὶ-
 γενομένης Β.

² αὐτοὺς Steph. : αὐτοῖς ΑΒ.

³ εἶναι placed here by Cobet : after ἔρημον Ο.

reduced to great embarrassment, finding nothing to say that was more just or more reasonable. And if his colleague had not chosen to continue his officiousness, the populace, being fully aware that their demands were neither just nor right, would have rejected the law. But as it was, he delivered a speech that was haughty and offensive to the ears of the poor, so that they became exasperated and implacable and fell into greater strife than ever before. For he did not talk to them as if they were free men and his fellow citizens who had power to confirm or reject the law, but domineering over them as if they were outcasts or foreigners or men whose liberty was precarious, he uttered bitter and intolerable reproaches, upbraiding them with the abolition of their debts and with their desertion of the consuls when they snatched up the standards and quit the camp, imposing voluntary banishment upon themselves¹; and he appealed to the oaths they had sworn when they took up arms in defence of the country which had given them birth, only to turn them against that very country. Therefore their conduct was not at all strange, he said, if, after being guilty of perjury to the gods, deserting their generals, leaving the city undefended as far as in them lay, and returning home in order to violate the public faith, subvert the laws and overthrow the constitution of their fathers, they showed no moderation and could not behave themselves like good citizens, but were always aiming at some selfish encroachment and violation of the laws. At one time they were demanding the right to choose for themselves their own magis-

¹ At the time of the secession to the Sacred Mount; see vi. 45.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ταύτας ἀνυπευθύνους ποιοῦντες καὶ παναγεῖς· τοτὲ δ' εἰς ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ τῶν¹ ἐσχάτων² κινδύνων³ καθιστάντες οὓς αὐτοῖς δόξειε τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ τὰ νόμιμα δικαστήρια, οὓς περὶ θανάτου καὶ φυγῆς ἡ πόλις πρότερον ἔδωκε κρίνειν,⁴ μεταφέροντες ἐκ τῆς καθαρωτάτης βουλῆς⁵ ἐπὶ τὸν ρύπαρώτατον ὅχλον· τοτὲ δὲ νόμους εἰσφέροντες οἱ θῆτες καὶ ἀνέστιοι κατὰ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν τυραννικοὺς καὶ ἀνίσους, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ προβούλευσαι περὶ αὐτῶν ἔξουσίαν τῇ βουλῇ καταλείποντες,⁶ ἀλλ' ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ ταύτην αὐτῆς τὴν τιμήν, ἦν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς εἶχεν ἀναμφίλεκτον χρόνου βασιλευομένης τε καὶ 8 τυραννουμένης τῆς πόλεως. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα

¹ τῶν om. B.

² Gelenius : αἰσχίστων O.

³ κινδύνων B : om. R.

⁴ ἔδωκε κρίνειν (cf. chap. 46, 4) ACmg : ἔχρητο B.

⁵ βουλῆς Capps, Post: φυλῆς O, Jacoby.

⁶ Reiske : καταλιπόντες O.

¹ This passage has not been properly understood hitherto. Instead of "senate" the MSS. read "tribe", a manifest corruption; and the editors and translators seem to have thought of the centuriate assembly, whatever may have been the actual word used by Dionysius. The true reading becomes evident when we compare this account of the successive gains made by the plebeians, and the parallel account just below, in chap. 46, 4, with the report of the trial of Coriolanus as given in Book VII. For just as the first concessions to the plebeians enumerated here and in chap. 46 obviously belong to the time of the secession of the plebs to the Sacred Mount, so those named later correspond perfectly with the account of the trial of Coriolanus. Concerning that trial we were informed that the tribunes, after first insisting upon trying the accused before the people without the previous sanction of the senate (vii. 25, 3; 26; 38), finally agreed that the senate should pass a preliminary

BOOK IX. 44, 7-8

trates and making these unaccountable for their actions and sacrosanct ; again, they were putting on trial for their lives such of the patricians as they saw fit, and transferring the legitimate courts, to which the commonwealth had formerly entrusted the trial of causes involving death or banishment, from the most incorruptible senate¹ to the vilest mob ; and yet again, the labourers for hire and the homeless were introducing tyrannical and unfair laws against the men of noble birth, without leaving to the senate the power even of passing the preliminary decree concerning those laws, but depriving that body of this honour also, which it had always enjoyed undisputed under both kings and tyrants. After he had

decree (to be ratified afterwards by the people), permitting Coriolanus to be tried by the people (vii. 39, 58) ; and a subsequent concession permitted the summoning, for that purpose, of the tribal instead of the centuriate assembly (vii. 59 ; 60, 1). It is the combined effect of these two "laws" (ix. 46, 4), then, that is mentioned with such scorn in the present passage. At the outset of their controversy with the plebeians over Coriolanus the senators had maintained that the senate was the normal tribunal for the trial of patricians (vii. 52, 6 and 8) ; and they declared that no patrician had as yet been tried by the popular court, which had been instituted for the benefit of plebeians oppressed by the patricians (vii. 52, 1 f. ; 41, 1 f.). There is no real contradiction between this claim of the senators and the declaration of Coriolanus (viii. 6, 2) that the normal court for these trials was the centuriate assembly ; his statement really applies simply to trials of plebeians, as only plebeians had been tried by the popular court. A further argument for understanding the senate as the tribunal from whose jurisdiction these trials had been taken away is to be seen in the highly complimentary adjective applied to that tribunal, an adjective which neither Dionysius nor the senators would ever have thought of applying even to the centuriate assembly, however it might be composed.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τούτοις ὅμοια προσθεὶς καὶ οὐδενὸς οὔτε πικροῦ πράγματος οὔτε βλασφήμου ὀνόματος φεισάμενος, τελευτῶν ἔκεīνον ἔτι προσέθηκεν τὸν λόγον, ἐφ' ὧ μάλιστα ἡ πληθὺς ἥγανάκτησεν, ὅτι χρόνον οὐδένα παύσεται στασιάζουσα περὶ παντὸς χρήματος ἡ πόλις, ἀλλ' αἰεί τινα καινὴν ἐπὶ παλαιὰ νοσῆσει νόσον ἕως ἂν ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἔξουσία διαμένῃ· διδάσκων ὅτι πράγματος παντὸς πολιτικοῦ καὶ κοινοῦ τὰς ἀρχὰς προσήκει σκοπεῖν, ὅπως εὐσεβεῖς ἔσονται καὶ δίκαιοι. φιλένι γὰρ ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν σπερμάτων χρηστοὺς γίγνεσθαι καὶ εὐτυχεῖς τοὺς καρπούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν κακοὺς καὶ ὀλεθρίους.

XLV. “Εἰ μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, “ἢδε ἡ ἀρχὴ μεθ' ὄμονοίας εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων ἀγαθῷ, παροῦσα σὺν οἰωνοῖς τε καὶ ὀττείαις, πολλῶν ἂν ἡμῖν ἐγίνετο καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἰτία, χαρίτων, ὁμοφροσύνης, εὐνομίας, ἐλπίδων χρηστῶν παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου, μυρίων ἄλλων· νῦν δέ, βίᾳ γὰρ¹ αὐτὴν εἰσήγαγε καὶ παρανομία καὶ στάσις καὶ πολέμου δέος ἐμφυλίου καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔχθιστα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τί οὖν ἔτι καὶ μέλλει χρηστὸν ἔσεσθαι ποτε² ἡ σωτήριον τοιαύτας λαβούσης τὰς ἀρχὰς; ὥστε περιττόν ἔστιν³ ἡμῖν ἵασιν καὶ ἀλεξήματα τῶν ἀναβλαστανόντων ἔξ αὐτῆς κακῶν ζητεῖν, ὅπόσα εἰς ἀνθρώπινον πίπτει λογισμόν, μενούσης ἔτι τῆς 2 πονηρᾶς ρίζης. οὐ γὰρ ἔσται πέρας οὐδὲ ἀπαλλαγὴ τῶν δαιμονίων χόλων ἕως ἂν ἢδε ἡ βάσκανος ἐρινὺς καὶ φαγέδαινα ἐγκαθημένη πάντα σήπη καὶ διαφθείρῃ τὰ καλά. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἔτερος ἔσται λόγος καὶ καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότερος, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ

¹ βίᾳ γὰρ Ba : ἐπεὶ βίᾳ R.

² ποτε B : om. R.

³ περιττόν ἔστιν Sintenis : περίεστιν O, Jacoby.

uttered many other reproaches of like nature and withheld neither any bitter fact nor any opprobrious word, he concluded with this declaration—which gave greater offence to the multitude than all the rest—that the commonwealth would never cease being divided into factions over every matter, but would always suffer from some fresh distemper following the old as long as the tribunician power should last. He pointed out that it is important to examine the beginnings of every political and public institution, to see that they shall be righteous and just ; for from good seeds are wont to come good and wholesome fruit, and from bad seeds evil and deadly fruit.

XLV. “ If, now,” he said, “ this magistracy had been introduced into the commonwealth harmoniously, for the good of all, entering in with the sanction of both omens and religious rites, it would have been the source of many blessings to us—kindly services, harmony, wholesome laws, hopes of blessings from Heaven, and countless other benefits. But as it is, since it was introduced by violence, lawlessness, sedition, the fear of civil war, and by everything mankind most abhors, what good or salutary thing can one now expect will ever come of it when it had such beginnings ? So that it is in vain for us to seek for a cure and for the aids which human reason suggests against the evils that are continually springing out of it, so long as the pernicious root remains. For we shall have no end of outbursts of the divine wrath, no deliverance from them, while this malignant curse and cancer, firmly imbedded in our body politic, corrupts and destroys all that is wholesome. But for the discussion of this subject another occasion will be more suitable. For the moment, since it is necessary

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

παρόντα εὖ τίθεσθαι χρή, πᾶσαν εἰρωνείαν ἀφεὶς τάδε ὑμῖν λέγω· οὗτε ὅδε ὁ νόμος οὗτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ὃν οὐχ ἡ βουλὴ προβουλεύσει κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπατείας γενήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγοις ἀγωνιοῦμαι περὶ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας, κανὸν εἰς τὰ ἔργα δέη χωρεῖν οὐδ' ἐν¹ τούτοις² τῶν ἐναντιουμένων λελείψομαι· καὶ εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἔγνωτε ὅσην ἵσχυν ἔχει τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων κράτος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς μαθήσεσθε.”

XLVI. “Αππιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ εἶπεν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ὁ πρεσβύτατος καὶ πλείστου ἀξιώματος τυγχάνων, Γάιος Λαιτώριος, ἀνὴρ ἐν τε τοῖς πολέμοις ἔγνωσμένος εἴναι ψυχὴν οὐ κακὸς καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν οὐκ ἀδύνατος, ἀνίσταται πρὸς ταῦτ’ ἀπολογησόμενος· καὶ διῆλθεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου λόγον πολὺν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενος· ὡς πολλὰς μὲν καὶ χαλεπὰς στρατείας οἱ βλασφημούμενοι πρὸς αὐτοῦ πένητες ἐστρατεύσαντο, οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων, ὅτε τὴν ἀνάγκην ἄν³ τις ἥτιάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἐκβολὴν ἐλευθερίαν κτώμενοι τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἡγεμονίᾳν· ἀμοιβὴν δ’ οὐδεμίαν ἐκομίσαντο παρὰ τῶν πατρικίων οὐδ’ ἀπῆλαυσαν οὐδενὸς τῶν κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ’ ὡς πολέμῳ ἀλόντες ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἦν ἀνασώσασθαι βουλόμενοι καταλιπεῖν ἡναγκάσθησαν τὴν πατρίδα πόθῳ γῆς ἐτέρας ἐν ᾧ τὸ μὴ ὑβρίζεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέροις οὖσιν ὑπάρξει· καὶ οὕτε βιασάμενοι τὴν βουλὴν οὕτε πολέμῳ προσαναγκάσαντες εὔροντο τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα κάθοδον, ἀξιούσῃ δὲ καὶ δεομένῃ τὰ ἐκλειφθέντα

¹ οὐδ’ ἐν Reiske : οὐδὲν AB.

² τούτοις B : τούτων R.

³ ἄν B : om. R.

to compose the present disturbances, I put aside all equivocation and say this to you : Neither this nor any other law shall become valid during my consulship without a preliminary decree of the senate ; on the contrary, I will fight for the aristocracy not only with words, but, if it shall be necessary to proceed to deeds, I shall not be outdone by its opponents even in these. And if you did not know before the extent of the consular power, you shall learn it during my term of office."

XLVI. Thus Appius spoke ; and, on the side of the tribunes, the oldest and most highly respected, Gaius Laetorius, a man acknowledged to be of no mean courage in warfare and not without ability in public affairs, rose up to answer him ; and he delivered a long speech in behalf of the populace, beginning with the earliest times. He showed that the poor whom Appius maligned had made many hard campaigns not only under their kings, when one might say their action was due to compulsion, but also after the expulsion of the kings, when they were acquiring liberty and supremacy for the fatherland. But they had received no recompense from the patricians nor enjoyed any of the public advantages, but, like captives taken in war, had been deprived by them even of their liberty, to recover which they had been compelled to leave their country in their yearning for another land in which they might live as free men without being insulted. And they had obtained their return to their possessions neither by offering violence to the senate nor by resorting to the compulsion of war, but by yielding to it when it asked and implored

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

3 ἀπολαβεῖν εἴξαντες.¹ τούς τε ὄρκους διεξήει καὶ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ γενομένας ἀνεκαλεῖτο· ἐν αἷς ἦν ἀμνηστία μὲν πρῶτον ἀπάντων,² ἔπειτα ἔξουσία τοῖς πένησιν ἀρχὰς ἀποδεικνύναι, τιμωρὸς μὲν ἐσομένας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, τοῖς δὲ κατισχύειν
 4 βουλομένοις ἀντιπάλους. διεξελθὼν δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς νόμους ἐπεδείκνυτο οὓς ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσεν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ, τόν τε περὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τῆς μεταγωγῆς, ὡς³ ἔδωκεν ἡ βουλὴ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἔξουσίαν κρίνειν οὓς ἂν αὐτοῖς δόξειε τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψηφοφορίας, ὃς οὐκ ἔτι⁴ τὴν λοχῖτιν⁵ ἐκκλησίαν,⁶ ἀλλὰ τὴν φυλετικὴν⁷ ἐποίει τῶν ψήφων κυρίαν.

XLVII. Διεξελθὼν δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου λόγον, ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ τὸν "Αππιον," "Ἐπειτα σὺ τολμᾶς," εἶπε, "λοιδορεῖσθαι τούτοις δι' οὓς μεγάλη μὲν ἐκ μικρᾶς, ἐπιφανῆς δ' ἐξ ἀδόξου γέγονεν ἡ πόλις; καὶ στασιαστὰς ἐτέρους ἀποκαλεῖς καὶ φυγαδικήν τινα τύχην ὀνειδίζεις, ὥσπερ οὐχ ἀπάντων ἔτι τούτων μεμνημένων τὸ καθ' ὑμᾶς, ὅτι στασιάσαντες οἱ σοὶ πρόγονοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα καταλιπόντες ἐνθάδ' ἵδρυθησαν ἵκέται; εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐκλιπόντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα πόθῳ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καλὸν ἔργον ἐπράττετε, 'Ρωμαῖοι δὲ τὰ ὅμοια ὑμῖν δεδρα-
 2 κότες οὐ καλόν. τολμᾶς δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν δημάρχων

¹ After εἴξαντες ΛCmg add ἔδωκαν.

² Kiesling : πάντων Ο.

³ ὡς Ο : φῶ Portus.

⁴ ἔτι R (?) : εἰχε AB.

⁵ κουριάτην Reiske.

⁶ ἐκκλησίαν A : ἔξουσίαν B.

⁷ Reiske : κουριάτιν Ο, Jacoby.

them to receive back their abandoned possessions. He mentioned the oaths and appealed to the terms of the compact which had been made to induce them to return, among which there was, first, a general amnesty, and then for the poor the power of choosing magistrates who should assist them and oppose those who wished to do violence to them. After recounting these matters, he cited the laws which the people had not long before ratified, both the one concerning the transfer of the courts, by which the senate had granted to the people the power to try any of the patricians they should think fit, and also the one concerning the manner of their voting, which no longer made the centuriate assembly, but rather the tribal assembly, responsible for the voting.¹

XLVII. When he had finished his defence of the populace, he turned to Appius and said : “ After this do *you* dare revile these men through whom the commonwealth, once small, has become great, and, once obscure, illustrious ? And do you call your opponents seditious and reproach them for a fate akin to exile, as if all these men here did not still remember what befel your own family—that your ancestors, having raised a sedition against the authorities and abandoned their country, settled here as suppliants ?² Unless, indeed, your folk, when they forsook their country through a desire for liberty, did a noble thing, but Romans, when they did the same thing as you, did an ignoble thing ! Do you dare also to revile the

¹ See the note on chap. 44, 7. Reiske's proposal to read “ curiate assembly ” for “ centuriate assembly ” was evidently based on the assumption that the reference is to the tribunician elections (chap. 41, 2); but the people did not ratify that proposed change until later (chap. 49, 4 f.).

² See v. 40, 3-5.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἔξουσίαν ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ παρεληλυθυῖαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν λοιδορεῖν καὶ πείθεις τουτουσὶ καταλῦσαι τὴν τῶν πενήτων ἐπικουρίαν τὴν ἵερὰν καὶ ἀκύνητον καὶ μεγάλαις ἡσφαλισμένην ἐκ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγκαις, ὡς μισοδημότατε καὶ τυραννικώτατε; καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἄρα ἐδυνήθης μαθεῖν, ὅτι τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῇ σεαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ ταῦτα λέγων λοιδορῆ; καὶ γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ διαναστᾶσα¹ πρὸς² τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὧν οὐκέτι τὰς ὑπερηφανίας καὶ τὰς ὕβρεις ὑποφέρειν ἡξίου, τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχείον κατεστήσατο, καὶ πρὸν ἐκείνους ἔξελάσαι τῆς πόλεως ἔτέρους 3 ἐποίησε τῆς βασιλικῆς ἔξουσίας κυρίους. ὥστε ἀ περὶ τῆς δημαρχίας λέγεις ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ παρεληλυθυίας, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ διχοστασίας ἔλαβε, ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ τῆς ὑπατείας λέγεις. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνην ἄλλη τις εἰσήγαγε πρόφασις ἀλλ' ἡ πρὸς 4 τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῶν πατρικίων στάσις. ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτά σοι διαλέγομαι ὡς χρηστῷ καὶ μετρίῳ πολίτῃ, ὃν ἄπαντες ἴσασιν οὗτοι σκαιὸν ὄντα διὰ γένος καὶ πικρὸν καὶ μισόδημον καὶ τὸ θηριώδες ὑπὸ φύσεως οὐδέποτε ἔξημερῶσαι δυνάμενον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμόσε χωρῶ σοι τὰ ἔργα ἐπίπροσθεν ποιησάμενος τῶν λόγων, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅσην ἴσχυν ὁ δῆμος ἔχων λέληθε σε, ὃν οὐκ ἡσχύνθης ἀνέστιον καὶ ῥυπαρὸν καλῶν, καὶ ὅσον ἥδε ἡ ἀρχὴ δυναμένη,³ ἦν σε ὁ νόμος ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ εἴκειν ἀναγκάζει; παρεὶς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἄπασαν εἰρωνείαν ἔργου ἔξομαι.”⁴

XLVIII. Ταῦτ’ εἰπών, ὅρκον ὅσπερ μέγιστος αὐτοῖς ἦν διομοσάμενος ἡ τὸν νόμον ἐπικυρώσειν

¹ διαναστᾶσα R : διαστᾶσα C.

² πρὸς B : om. C, πᾶσα πρὸς R.

tribunician power as having been introduced into the commonwealth for a mischievous purpose and do you attempt to persuade these men here to abrogate this sacred and inviolable protection of the poor, safeguarded as it is by powerful sanctions which stem from both gods and men, O greatest enemy of the populace and most tyrannical of men? Have you not been able, then, to learn even this, that in saying these things you traduce both the senate and your own magistracy? For the senate, having risen against the kings, whose arrogance and insults they resolved to bear no longer, established the consulship, and before they had expelled the kings, invested others with the royal authority. So that everything you say against the tribunician power as having been introduced for a mischievous purpose, since it had its origin in sedition, you say against the consulship also; for there was no other ground for introducing that magistracy than the sedition of the patricians against the kings. But why do I talk thus with you as with a good and fair-minded citizen, when all these men here know that you are by inheritance mischievous, harsh and an enemy of the populace, and that you can never tame your inborn savagery? Why do I not rather come to grips with you, preferring actions to words, and show you how great is the strength, all unknown to you, of the populace, whom you were not ashamed to call homeless and vile, and how great is the power of *this* magistracy, to which the law obliges you to give way and submit? I too shall lay aside all equivocation and set to work."

XLVIII. Having said this and sworn the strongest oath in use among the Romans that he would either

³ δυναμένη deleted by Kayser.

⁴ Cobet : ἀρξομαι O.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἢ τοῦ ζῆν μεθήσεσθαι, σιωπῆς γενομένης ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ἐναγωνίου προσδοκίας ἐφ' ὡ̄ μέλλει δρᾶν, ἐκέλευσε μεταχωρεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸν "Αππιον. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ράβδούχους παραστησάμενος καὶ τὸν ὅχλον ὃν ἦγε παρασκευασάμενος οἴκοθεν ἀπεμάχετο μὴ παραχωρῆσαι τῆς ἀγορᾶς, σιωπὴν ὑποκηρυξάμενος ὁ Λαιτώριος ἀνεῖπεν ὅτι τὸν ὕπατον εἰς φυλακὴν κελεύοντιν
 2 ἀπάγειν¹ οἱ δῆμαρχοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπηρέτης κελευσθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσῆγεν ὡς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιληψόμενος· τῶν δὲ ράβδούχων ὁ πρῶτος ἐπιτυχὼν παίων αὐτὸν ἀπήλασε. κραυγῆς δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων γενομένης μεγάλης καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως ἵεται αὐτὸς ὁ Λαιτώριος παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς ὅχλοις ἀμύνειν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν "Αππιον στῖφος ἔχοντες νέων πολὺ καὶ καρτερὸν ὑφίστανται. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λόγοι τε ἀσχήμονες ἐγένοντο εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ καταβοαὶ καὶ σωμάτων ὡθισμοί· καὶ τελευτῶσα εἰς χεῖρας ἀπέσκηψεν ἡ ἔρις καὶ εἰς λίθων ἥρξατο
 3 προβαίνειν βολάς. ἐπέσχε δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ μὴ προσωτέρω χωρῆσαι τὰ δεινὰ Κοῦντιος ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων αἴτιος ἐγένετο, δεόμενός τε ἀπάντων καὶ λιπαρῶν σὺν τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ εἰς μέσους τοὺς ἀψιμαχοῦντας ὡθούμενος. ἦν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ λειπόμενον βραχὺ μέρος, ὥστε ἀκούσιοι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διελύθησαν.
 4 Ταῖς δ' ἔξης ἡμέραις αἱ τ' ἀρχαὶ ἀλλήλαις ἐνεκάλουν, ὁ μὲν ὕπατος τοῖς δημάρχοις ὅτι καταλύειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡξίουν ἐσ τὸ δεσμωτήριον τὸν ὕπατον ἀπάγειν κελεύσαντες, τῷ δ' ὑπάτῳ οἱ δῆμαρχοι ὡς ἐμβεβληκότι πληγὰς σώμασιν ἴεροῖς

¹ ἀπάγειν ACmg : om. R.

BOOK IX. 48, 1-4

get the law ratified or abandon life, the multitude meanwhile having become silent and being in an agony of expectation concerning what he was going to do, he ordered Appius to leave the assembly. And when Appius, instead of obeying, placed the lictors about him, together with the crowd which he had brought from home for that purpose, and obstinately refused to leave the Forum, Laetorius, after bidding the heralds to command silence, announced that the tribunes ordered the consul to be led away to prison. Upon this the assistant by his command advanced in order to seize the person of Appius, but the foremost lictor with a successful blow drove him back. When those present raised a great outcry and showed their resentment, Laetorius himself rushed forward after appealing to the crowds to assist him, while Appius, supported by a numerous and vigorous body of young men, stood his ground. There followed unseemly words between the factions and shouting and the pushing of body against body ; and at last the strife broke out into blows and they began to throw stones. But a stop was put to this and the mischief was prevented from proceeding farther by Quintius, the other consul, who together with the oldest senators implored and entreated them all to desist, and thrust himself into the midst of the contending parties. Moreover, there was little of the day left, so that, albeit reluctantly, they separated.

During the following days not only did the magistrates indulge in accusations against one another, the consul charging the tribunes with a desire to invalidate his authority by ordering a consul to be led away to prison, and the tribunes charging the consul with having struck those whose persons were

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

καὶ καθωσιωμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου (καὶ ὁ Λαιτώριος τὰ ἔχη τῶν πληγῶν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς ὄψεως ἔτι φανερά), ἦ τε πόλις ὅλη διοιδοῦσα καὶ ἀγριαινομένη 5 διειστήκει. ἔπειτα ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐφρούρει τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἄμα τοῖς δημάρχοις, οὗτε ἡμέρας οὕτε νυκτὸς ἐκλείπων τὴν¹ φυλακήν· ἥ δὲ βουλὴ συνιοῦσα πολλὴν καὶ ἐπίονον ἐποιεῖτο ζήτησιν ὅπως χρὴ παῦσαι τὴν διχοστασίαν, τοῦ τε κινδύνου τὸ μέγεθος ἐνθυμουμένη καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὰ αὐτὰ παρειστήκει φρονεῖν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κοῦντιος εἴκειν τῷ δῆμῳ τὰ μέτρια ἡξίου, ὁ δ' "Αππιος μέχρι θανάτου ἀντέχειν.²

XLIX. 'Ως δ' οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πέρας, χωρὶς ἔκάστους ἀπολαμβάνων ὁ Κοῦντιος, τούς τε δημάρχους καὶ τὸν "Αππιον, ἐδεῦτο καὶ ἐλιπάρει καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἴδιων ἀναγκαιότερα ἡγεῖσθαι ἡξίου. ὅρῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἡδη πεπειροτέρους γεγονότας, τὸν δὲ συνάρχοντα ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐθαδείας μένοντα, πείθει τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λαιτώριον ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν τε ἴδιων ἐγκλημάτων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων τὴν βουλὴν ποιῆσαι 2 κυρίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο διεπράξατο, συνεκάλει τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους πολλὰ ἐπαινέσας καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος δεηθεὶς μὴ ἀντιπράττειν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως ἐκάλει τοὺς εἰωθότας ἀπο-3 φαίνεσθαι γνώμας. πρῶτος δὲ κληθεὶς Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος Ποπλικόλας γνώμην ἀπεφήνατο τήνδε· ὅσα μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐγκαλοῦσιν οἱ τε δῆμαρχοι καὶ ὁ ὑπατος, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔπαθον ἦ ἔδρασαν ἐν τῇ ταραχῇ, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔξ ἐπιβουλῆς οὐδ' οἰκείας πλεονεξίας

¹ τὴν B : αὐτοῦ τὴν R.

² Kiessling : ἀντεῖχεν O.

sacred and made inviolate by the law—Laetorius, indeed, bore on his face the marks, still visible, of the blows—but the whole city, filled with rage and fury, was rent with faction. Then the populace together with the tribunes proceeded to guard the Capitol both day and night without intermission. The senate assembled and entered into a long and difficult consideration of the proper means of putting a stop to the sedition, being sensible not only of the magnitude of the danger but also that not even the consuls had succeeded in being of one mind; for Quintius advised yielding to the populace in everything that was reasonable, whereas Appius proposed to resist till death.

XLIX. When no end would come to the strife, Quintius took each party aside separately, the tribunes and Appius, and begged, besought and implored them to regard the public interests as more vital than their private concerns. And observing that the tribunes had become milder but that his colleague persisted in the same arrogance, he undertook to persuade Laetorius and his colleagues to refer all their complaints, both private and public, to the determination of the senate. When he had accomplished this, he assembled the senate, and after bestowing great praise upon the tribunes and begging his colleague not to act against the safety of the state, he then proceeded to call upon those who were wont to express their opinions.¹ Publius Valerius Publicola, who was called upon first, expressed the following opinion: That the mutual accusations of the tribunes and the consul relating to what they had suffered or done in the tumult, since they had gone so far, not

¹ *i.e.*, the older members; *cf.* chap. 51, 3.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἔνεκεν εἰς αὐτὰ κατέστησαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ¹ τῆς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ φιλοτιμίας, ἀφεῖσθαι δημοσίᾳ καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἶναι δίκην· περὶ δὲ τοῦ νόμου, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ὑπάτος² οὐκ ἔἁ νόμον ἀπροβούλευτον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκφέρειν, προβουλεῦσαι μὲν περὶ τούτου τὸ συνέδριον· τοὺς δὲ δημάρχους ἀμα τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσασθαι τῆς τε ὁμονοίας τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅταν ἡ ψῆφος περὶ αὐτοῦ διαφέρηται, καὶ τῆς 4 εὐκοσμίας. ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἀπάντων εὐθὺς ἀνέδωκε τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου ψῆφον ὁ Κοῖντιος τῷ συνεδρίῳ, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν Ἀππίου κατηγορήσαντος, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀντιλεξάντων, ἐνίκα παρὰ πολλὰς ψήφους ἡ τὸν νόμον εἰσφέρειν ἀξιοῦσα γνώμη. ἐπικυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ προβουλεύματος αἱ τε ἴδιαι τῶν ἀρχόντων διαφοραὶ διελύθησαν καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀγαπητῶς δεξάμενος τὸ συγχώρημα τῆς βουλῆς ἐπεψήφισε τὸν 5 νόμον. ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τὰ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ ἀγορανόμων ἀρχαιρέσια μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου δίχα οἰωνῶν τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὀπτείας ἀπάσης αἱ φυλετικαὶ ψηφοφοροῦσιν ἐκκλησίαι. αὕτη λύσις ἐγένετο τῆς τότε κατασχούσης ταραχῆς τὴν πόλιν.

L. Καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ στρατιὰς ἐδόκει Ῥωμαίοις καταγράφειν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐκπέμπειν ἀμφοτέρους ἐπί τε Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους. δυνάμεις γὰρ ἔξ³ ἐκατέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔξεληλυθέναι ἥγγελλοντο μεγάλαι καὶ προνομεύειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους. παρασκευασθεισῶν δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων

¹ Sylburg : ὑπὲρ Ο.

² Ἀππίος after ὑπάτος deleted by Cobet.

³ ἔξ B : ἀφ' AC.

with malice aforethought or for personal advantage, but out of rivalry in their zeal for the public welfare, should be publicly dismissed and that no suit should be brought because of them. As to the proposed law, since the consul would not allow any law to be presented to the assembly without a preliminary vote of the senate, he advised that the senate should vote upon it first ; also that the tribunes together with the consuls should take care to preserve harmony and decorum among the citizens when the vote should be taken concerning it. This advice being approved of by all, Quintius immediately put the question to the senate concerning the law, and after many objections offered by Appius and many rejoinders made by the tribunes the motion to lay it before the populace was carried by a large majority. The preliminary decree having been thus passed, the private differences of the magistrates were composed ; and the populace, gladly accepting this concession of the senate, ratified the law. From that time down to our own the tribunes and the aediles have been chosen in the tribal assemblies¹ without auspices or any other religious observances. This was the end of the tumult which disturbed the commonwealth at that time.

L. Not long afterwards² the Romans decided to enrol armies and to send out both consuls against the Aequians and the Volscians ; for it was reported that large forces from both these nations had taken the field and were then pillaging the territories of the Romans' allies. The armies being soon ready, Quin-

¹ See the note on chap. 41, 2.

² Cf. Livy ii. 58, 3–60, 5.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

σὺν τάχει Κοῦντιος μὲν Αἰκανοῖς πολεμήσων ὥχετο,
 "Αππιος δὲ Οὐολούσκοις, κλήρῳ διαλαχόντες τὰς
 ἀρχάς. συνέβη δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐκατέρῳ τὰ εἰκότα
² πάσχειν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῷ Κοῦντίῳ προσνεμηθεῖσα
 στρατιὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειάν τε καὶ μετριότητα τοῦ
 ἀνδρὸς ἀσπαζομένη πρόθυμος ἦν εἰς ἄπαντα τὰ
 ἐπιταπτόμενα, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα αὐτοκέλευστος ὑφ-
 ἴστατο κινδυνεύματα δόξαν τῷ ἡγεμόνι καὶ τιμὴν
 πράττουσα· καὶ διεξῆλθε πολλὴν τῆς Αἰκανῶν
 χώρας λεηλατοῦσα οὐ τολμώντων εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν
 τῶν πολεμίων, ἐξ ἣς λάφυρα πολλὰ καὶ ὠφελείας
 μεγάλας ἐκτήσατο. χρόνον δ' οὐ πολὺν ἐν τῇ
 πολεμίᾳ διατρίψασα παρῆν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπαθῆς
 κακῶν, λαμπρὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τὸν στρατηγὸν
³ ἄγουσα. ἡ δὲ τῷ Ἀππίῳ συνεξελθοῦσα¹ δύναμις
 μίσει τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλὰ ὑπερεῖδε τῶν πατρίων.
 τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἐθελοκακοῦσα ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ
 καὶ ὀλιγωροῦσα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος διετέλεσε, καὶ ἐπει-
 δὴ μάχεσθαι ἔδει τῇ Οὐολούσκων στρατιᾷ, κατα-
 σταθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰς τάξιν οὐκ ἡξίωσε
 τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι· ἀλλ' οἱ τε λοχαγοὶ
 καὶ οἱ πρόμαχοι αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν² τὰ σημεῖα ρύψαντες,
 οἱ δὲ τὴν τάξιν³ ἐγκαταλιπόντες ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα
⁴ ἔφευγον. καὶ εἰ μὴ θαυμάσαντες τὸ παράλογον
 τῆς φυγῆς αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ δείσαντες μὴ
 ἐνέδρα τις ἦ, τῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διώξεως ἀπετράποντο,
 τὸ πλεῖστον ἄν μέρος τῶν Ρωμαίων διέφθαρτο.
 ἐποίουν δὲ ταῦτα φθόνῳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ἵνα μὴ

¹ Reiske : συνελθοῦσα Ο.

² οἱ μὲν om. B.

³ οἱ δὲ τὴν τάξιν om. B.C.

tius set out to make war against the Aequians and Appius against the Volscians, these commands having fallen to them by lot. And the fortunes of each of the consuls were such as might have been expected. The army assigned to Quintius, pleased with the fairness and moderation of their general, were eager to carry out all his orders, and undertook most of the hazards unbidden, thereby achieving glory and honour for their commander. They overran a large part of the country of the Aequians and plundered it, the enemy not daring to come to an engagement ; and from it they acquired great booty and rich spoils. After tarrying a short time in the enemy's country they returned to the city without any losses, bringing their general home illustrious because of his exploits. But the army that went out with Appius because of their hatred of him disregarded many of the principles of their ancestors. In fact, during the whole campaign they not only played the coward deliberately and treated their general with contempt, but particularly when they were to engage the army of the Volscians and their commanders had drawn them up in order of battle, they refused to come to grips with the enemy, but both the centurions and the *antesignani*,¹ some throwing away their standards and others quitting their posts, fled to the camp. And if the enemy, wondering at their unexpected flight and fearing there might be an ambush, had not turned back from pursuing them farther, the greater part of the Romans would have been destroyed. The troops acted thus because of the grudge they bore to their general, lest he should

¹ The soldiers, specially chosen, who fought before the standards.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

καλὸν ἀγώνισμα ὁ ἀνὴρ διαπραξάμενος θριάμβῳ τε
 5 καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιλαμπρυνθῆ τιμαῖς. τῇ δὲ κατ-
 óπιν ἡμέρᾳ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ ὑπάτου
 τῆς ἀδόξου φυγῆς, τὰ δὲ παρακαλοῦντος αἰσχιστον
 ἔργον ἀναλύσασθαι καλῷ ἀγῶνι, τὰ δ' ἀπειλοῦντος,
 εἰ μὴ στήσονται παρὰ τὰ δεινά, χρήσεσθαι τοῖς
 νόμοις, ἀπειθείᾳ τε διεχρῶντο καὶ καταβοῇ καὶ
 ἀπάγειν σφᾶς ἐκέλευον ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας ὡς ἀδύ-
 νατοι ἔτι ὅντες ὑπὸ τραυμάτων ἀντέχειν· κατ-
 εδήσαντο γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς ὑγιεῖς χρῶτας
 ὡς τραυματίαι· ὥστε ὁ "Αππιος ἡναγκάσθη ἀπάγειν
 τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας, καὶ οἱ Οὐόλοῦσκοι
 ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπόμενοι πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν.
 6 ὡς δ' ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ ἐγένοντο, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκ-
 κλησίαν αὐτοὺς ὁ ὑπατος καὶ πολλὰ ὄνειδίσας ἔφη
 χρήσεσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν λιποτακτῶν¹ κολάσει. καὶ
 πολλὰ δεομένων τῶν πρεσβευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 τῶν ἐν τέλει μετριάσαι καὶ μὴ συμφορὰν ἐπὶ
 συμφορᾷ προσθεῖναι τῇ πόλει, λόγον οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν
 7 ποιησάμενος ἐκύρωσε τὴν κόλασιν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
 οἱ λοχαγοί τε ὧν οἱ λόχοι ἔφυγον, καὶ οἱ πρόμαχοι
 τῶν σημείων ὅσοι τὰ σημεῖα ἀπολωλέκεσαν, οἱ μὲν
 πελέκει τοὺς αὐχένας ἀπεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ ξύλοις
 παιόμενοι διεφθάρησαν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου πλήθους
 ἀπὸ δεκάδος ἐκάστης εἰς ἀνὴρ ὁ λαχὼν κλήρῳ
 πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέθνησκεν. αὕτη 'Ρωμαίοις
 πάτριός ἐστι κατὰ τῶν λιπόντων τὰς τάξεις ἡ
 προεμένων τὰς σημείας ἡ κόλασις. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ
 αὐτός τε μισούμενος ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς
 ὅσον ἔτι περιήν κατηφὲς καὶ ἄτιμον ἐπαγόμενος,

¹ λιποτακτῶν Ba : λειποτακτῶν R.

win a brilliant engagement and so obtain the distinction of a triumph and the other honours. And the following day, when the consul alternately upbraided them for their inglorious flight, exhorted them to redeem their most disgraceful conduct by a noble effort, and threatened to invoke the laws against them if they would not stand firm in the face of danger, they broke out into disobedience, clamoured against him and bade him lead them out of the enemy's country, alleging that they were no longer able to hold out by reason of their wounds ; for most of them had bound up the sound parts of their bodies as if they had been wounded. Hence Appius was obliged to withdraw his army from the enemy's country, and the Volscians, pursuing them as they retreated, killed many of them. As soon as they were in friendly territory, the consul assembled the troops, and after uttering many reproaches said that he would inflict upon them the punishment ordained against those who quit their posts. And though the legates and the other officers earnestly besought him to use moderation and not to heap one calamity after another upon the commonwealth, he paid no heed to any of them but confirmed the punishment. Thereupon the centurions whose centuries had run away and the *antesignani* who had lost their standards were either beheaded with an axe or beaten to death with rods ; as for the rank and file, one man chosen by lot out of every ten was put to death for the rest. This is the traditional punishment among the Romans for those who desert their posts or yield their standards. Afterwards, the general, an object of hatred himself and leading back, dejected and disgraced, what was left of his army,

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων καθηκόντων ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.

LI. Ἀποδειχθέντων δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους ὑπάτων Λευκίου Οὐαλερίου τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Τιβερίου Αἰμιλίου βραχύν τινα χρόνον ἐπισχόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τὸν ὑπὲρ κληρουχίας πάλιν εἰσῆγον λόγον· καὶ προσιόντες τοῦς ὑπάτους ἡξίουν βεβαιώσαι τῷ δήμῳ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἃς ἐποιήσατο ἡ βουλὴ Σπορίου Κασσίου καὶ Πρόκλου Οὐεργινίου ὑπατευόντων,
 2 δεόμενοί τε καὶ λιπαροῦντες. καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ αὐτοῖς συνελάμβανον ἀμφότεροι, Τιβέριος μὲν Αἰμιλίος κότον τινὰ παλαιὸν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ ἄλογον ἀναφέρων ὅτι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ θρίαμβον αἴτουμένῳ κατάγειν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν, ὁ δὲ Οὐαλέριος ἀποθεραπεῦσαι τοῦ δήμου τὴν ὁργὴν βουλόμενος ἦν εἶχε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Σπορίου Κασσίου θανάτῳ, ὃν ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ἐπιχειροῦντα βασιλείᾳ ταμίας τότε ὃν Οὐαλέριος, ἄνδρα τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν γενομένων ἐπιφανέστατον ἐν ἡγεμονίαις τε πολέμων καὶ πολιτικαῖς πράξεσιν, ὃς καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας πολίτευμα πρῶτος εἰσῆγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, ὡς δῆμον
 3 αἴρούμενος¹ πρὸ² αὐτῶν, ἐμισήθη. τότε δ' οὖν ὑποσχομένων τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοῖς προθήσειν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς διανομῆς τῶν δημοσίων κλήρων λόγον καὶ τῆς ἐπικυρώσεως τοῦ νόμου συναρεῖσθαι,³ πιστεύσαντες αὐτοῖς οἱ δήμαρχοι παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ λόγους διεξῆλθον ἐπιεικεῖς. οἷς οὐδὲν ἀντιλέξαντες οἱ ὑπατοὶ ὡς μὴ φιλονεικίας δόξαν ἀπενέγκαιντο, γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυ-

¹ αἴρούμενος R : ἀναιρούμενος A, Jacoby.

² Steph.² : πρὸς AB.

³ Reiske : συναιρεῖσθαι O.

the elections being now at hand, returned to the fatherland.

LI. When Lucius Valerius¹ (for the second time) and Tiberius Aemilius had been appointed as the next consuls, the tribunes after a short delay brought up again the question of the land-allotment ; and coming to the consuls, they asked them, with prayers and entreaties, to fulfil for the populace the promises which the senate had made in the consulship of Spurius Cassius and Proculus Verginius.² Both consuls favoured their request, Tiberius Aemilius bringing up an old and not unreasonable grudge against the senate because it had refused a triumph to his father when he asked for it, and Valerius from a desire to heal the anger of the populace directed against him because of the death of Spurius Cassius, whom he, being quaestor at the time, had caused to be put to death for aiming at tyranny. Cassius had been the most distinguished of his contemporaries both in military commands and in civil affairs ; moreover, he was the first to introduce into the commonwealth the measure concerning the allotment of lands and for that reason in particular was hated by the patricians as one who preferred the populace to them. At the time in question, at any rate, when the consuls promised them to bring up in the senate the question of the division of the public lands and to assist in securing the ratification of the law, the tribunes trusted them, and going to the senate, they spoke with moderation. And the consuls, desiring to avoid any appearance of contention, said nothing in opposition, but asked the oldest

¹ For chaps. 51-54 *cf.* Livy ii. 61.

² 484 B.C. ; see viii. 76.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

4 τάτους ἡξίουν. ἦν δ' ὁ πρῶτος ὑπ' αὐτῶν κληθεὶς
 Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων πατήρ· ὃς
 ἔφη δοκεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον ἔσεσθαι
 τῇ πόλει πάντων εἶναι τὰ κοινὰ καὶ μὴ ὀλίγων, τῷ
 τε δῆμῳ πείθοντι ὑπουργεῖν συνεβούλευεν, ἵνα χάρις
 ἡ παραχώρησις αὐτῶν γένηται. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ
 ἄλλα μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ κατὰ προαιρεσιν, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης
 συγκεχωρηκέναι· τούς τε κατέχοντας τὰς κτήσεις
 ὧν ἐκαρπώσαντο χρόνων λαθόντες ἡξίου χάριν
 5 εἰδέναι, κωλυομένους δὲ μὴ φιλοχωρεῖν. ἔφη τε
 σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ, ὃ πάντες ἂν¹ ὅμολογήσειαν ἴσχυρὸν
 εἶναι, τὰ μὲν δημόσια κοινὰ πάντων εἶναι, τὰ δ'
 ἕδια ἐκάστου τῶν νόμῳ κτησαμένων, καὶ ἀναγκαῖον
 ἥδη τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπὸ τῆς² βουλῆς γεγονέναι πρὸ³
 ἐτῶν ἐπτακαΐδεκα τὴν γῆν διανέμειν ψηφισαμένης.
 καὶ τοῦτ' ἀπέφηνεν ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τότε αὐτὴν
 βεβουλεῦσθαι, ἵνα μήτε γῆ χέρσος ἦ καὶ ὁ τὴν
 πόλιν οἰκουρῶν πένης ὄχλος³ μὴ ἀργός, ὥσπερ νῦν,
 τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἀγαθοῖς φθονῶν, ἐπιτρέφηται δὲ⁴ τῇ
 πόλει νεότης ἐν ἐφεστίοις καὶ κλήροις πατρῷοις,⁵
 ἔχουσά τι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ καλῶς τεθράφθαι⁶ μέγα⁷
 6 φρονεῖν· ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἀκλήροις καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλο-
 τρίων κτημάτων,⁷ ἀ μισθοῦ ἐργάζονται, γλίσχρως
 διατρεφομένοις ἡ ἀρχῆθεν μὴ ἐμφύεσθαι ἔρωτα

¹ ἂν added by Cobet.
³ ὄχλος ACmg : om. R.

⁵ πατρίοις B.

⁷ Sylburg : χρημάτων O.

² τῆς added by Reiske.
⁴ δὲ Steph. : om. AB.

⁶ Cobet : τετράφθαι O.

senators to express their opinions. The first person called upon was Lucius Aemilius, the father of one of the consuls, who said it seemed to him that it would be both just and for the interest of the commonwealth that the possessions of the public should belong to all and not to a few, and he advised them to support the plea of the populace, in order that this concession on their part might be regarded as a favour ; for many other things which they had not granted them by choice they had yielded through necessity. He felt also that those who were occupying these possessions ought to be grateful for the time they had enjoyed them without being detected, and when prevented from using them longer should not cling to them obstinately. He added that, along with the principle of justice, the force of which all would acknowledge, according to which the public possessions are the common property of all and private possessions the property of the one who has acquired them according to law, the action had also become unavoidable now through the action of the senate, which seventeen years before had ordered that the land be divided. And he declared that it had reached this decision at that time in the public interest, to the end that neither the land should go uncultivated nor the multitude of poor people dwelling in the city should live in idleness, envying the advantages of the others, as was now the case, and that young men might be reared up for the state in the homes and on the lands of their fathers, deriving also some pride of spirit from this very rearing. For such as have no lands of their own and live miserably off the possessions of others which they cultivate for hire either do not feel any desire at all to

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

γενεᾶς τέκνων ἡ ἐμφύντα πονηρὸν ἐκφέρειν καρπὸν
καὶ οὐδ' εὔτυχῆ, ἐκ ταπεινῶν τε συμπορισθέντα οὐα
εἰκὸς γάμων καὶ ἐν κατεπτωχευμέναις τραφέντα
τύχαις. “Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, “γνώμην ἀπο-
δείκνυμαι, τά τε προβούλευθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου
καὶ διὰ τὰς μεταξὺ ταραχὰς παρειλκυσμένα ἐμ-
πεδοῦν τοὺς ὑπάτους, καὶ τοὺς ποιησομένους τὴν
διανομὴν ἄνδρας ἀποδεικνύναι.”

LII. Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος Αἴμιλίου δεύτερος κληθεὶς
“Αππιος Κλαύδιος, δ τῷ πρόσθεν ὑπατεύσας ἔτει,
τὴν ἐναντίαν γνώμην ἀπεφήνατο, διδάσκων ὡς
οὕθ' ἡ βουλὴ διανεῖμαι τὰ δημόσια¹ προαίρεσιν
ἔσχε (πάλαι γάρ ἂν εἰληφέναι τὰ δόξαντ' αὐτῇ
τέλος), ἀλλ' εἰς χρόνον καὶ διάγνωσιν ἐτέραν² ἀνε-
βάλετο, παῦσαι προθυμουμένη τὴν τότε κατασχοῦ-
σαν στάσιν, ἦν εἰσῆγεν δ τῇ τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρῶν
ὑπατος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δίκας δοὺς καλάς· οὗτε οἱ
μετὰ τὸ προβούλευμα λαχόντες³ ὑπατοι τέλος τοῖς
ἐψηφισμένοις ἐπέθεσαν, ὅρωντες δσων εἰσελεύσεται
κακῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀρχὴ συνεθισθέντων τὰ κοινὰ
τῶν πενήτων διαλαγχάνειν· αἱ τε μετ' ἐκείνους
πεντεκαΐδεκα ὑπατεῖαι πολλῶν αὐταῖς⁴ ἐπαχθέν-
των ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κινδύνων οὐδὲν ὑπέμειναν δ
μὴ συνέφερε τῷ⁵ κοινῷ⁶ πράττειν, διὰ τὸ μηδ' ἔξ-
εῖναι σφίσι κατὰ τὸ προβούλευμα τοὺς γεωμόρους⁷
ἀποδεικνύειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρώτοις ἐκείνοις ὑπάτοις.

¹ δημόσια B : δημόσια πράγματα R.

² εἰς χρόνον ἔτερον καὶ διάγνωσιν Steph.²

³ λαχόντες C : λαβόντες R ; λαβόντες ὑπατείαν Sylburg.

⁴ Sylburg : αὐτοῖς A.B.

⁶ κοινῷ added by Kiessling.

⁵ συνέφερε τῷ

B : συνέφέρετο A.

⁷ γε ὠμόρους B : τε ὠμόρους AC.

¹ The word γεωμόροι (Doric γαμόροι) usually means “land-

beget children, or, if they do, produce a sorry and wretched offspring, such as might be expected of those who are the fruit of humble marriages and are reared in beggared circumstances. "As for me, then," he said, "the motion I make is that the consuls should carry out the preliminary decree which was then passed by the senate and has since been delayed by reason of the intervening disturbances, and appoint the men to divide the land."

LII. Aemilius having spoken thus, Appius Claudius, who had been consul the preceding year, being the second person called upon, expressed the contrary opinion, pointing out that neither the senate had had any intention of dividing the public possessions—for in that case its decree would long since have been carried out—but had deferred it to a later time for further consideration, its concern being to put a stop to the sedition then raging, which had been stirred up by the consul who was aiming at tyranny and afterwards suffered deserved punishment; nor had the first consuls chosen after the preliminary decree put the vote into effect, when they saw what a source of evils would be introduced into the state if the poor were once accustomed to get by allotment the public possessions; nor did the consuls of the following fifteen years, though they were threatened with many dangers from the populace, consent to do anything that was not in the public interest, for the reason that no authority even was given to them by the preliminary decree to appoint the land commissioners,¹ but only to those first con-owners"; but here it clearly refers to the men who were to make the allotments. The word is somewhat corrupted in our MSS., though all the readings point to *γεωμόρους*. Dionysius uses the word again in x. 38, 4 in the same sense.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

3 ““Ωστε ούδ’ ύμῖν,” ἔφησεν, “ὦ Οὐαλέριε, καὶ
 σύ, Αἰμίλιε, γῆς ἀναδασμοὺς εἰσφέρειν οὓς οὐκ
 ἐπέταξεν ύμῖν τὸ συνέδριον οὕτε καλῶς ἔχει,
 προγόνων οὖσιν ἀγαθῶν, οὗτ’ ἀσφαλῶς. καὶ περὶ¹
 μὲν τοῦ προβουλεύματος, ὡς οὐ κρατεῖσθε ὑπ’
 αὐτοῦ οἱ τοσούτοις ὕστερον ὑπατεύσαντες χρόνοις,
 4 ταῦθ’ ἵκανά. περὶ δὲ τοῦ βιασαμένους τινὰς ἦ
 λαθόντας σφετερίσασθαι τὰ δημόσια βραχὺς ἀπ-
 αρκεῖ μοι λόγος. εἰ γάρ τις οἶδε καρπούμενόν τινα
 ὃν οὐκ ἔχει κτῆσιν ἀποδεῖξαι νόμῳ, μήνυσιν ἀπ-
 ενεγκάτω πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ κρινάτω κατὰ
 τοὺς νόμους, οὓς οὐ νεωστὶ δεήσει γράφειν· πάλαι
 γάρ ἐγράφησαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτοὺς ἡφάνικε χρόνος.
 5 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐποιεῖτο λόγους
 Αἰμίλιος, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων ἀγαθῷ τῆς κληρουχίας
 ἐσομένης, οὐδὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀνέλεγκτον ἔᾶσαι
 βούλομαι. ἐμοὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ τὸ αὐτόθι μόνον οὗτός
 γε ὄρāν, τὸ δὲ μέλλον οὐ προσκοπέῖν, ὅτι τὸ²
 μικρὸν εἶναι δοκοῦν, δοῦναι τι³ τῶν δημοσίων τοῖς
 ἀργοῖς καὶ ἀπόροις, πολλῶν ἔσται καὶ μεγάλων
 6 κακῶν αἴτιον. τὸ γὰρ ἔθος τὸ συνεισπορευόμενον
 ἄμα τούτῳ καὶ διαμένον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ⁴ μέχρι⁵
 παντὸς ὄλεθριον ἔσται καὶ δεινόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔξαιρεῖ
 τὰς πονηρὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ τυγχά-
 νειν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ αὔξει καὶ πονηροτέρας ποιεῖ.
 τεκμήρια δ’ ύμῖν γενέσθω τούτων τὰ ἔργα· τί γὰρ
 δεῖ τοῖς λόγοις ύμᾶς τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἦ τοῖς Αἰμιλίον
 προσέχειν;

¹ τὸ R : om. B, Jacoby.

² δοῦναι τι Post : εἴ τι Ba, ἔτι R, ἐπὶ Jacoby. Reiske read
 ἔτι τὸ and added μεταδιδόναι after ἀπόροις.

³ καὶ deleted by Smit. Reiske added προϊὸν after παντὸς.
 Cobet proposed διαμενεῖ for διαμένον.

BOOK IX, 52, 3-6

suls. " So that for you men also, Valerius, yes, and you too, Aemilius, to propose allotments of land which the senate did not direct you to carry out is neither honourable, descended as you are from worthy ancestors, nor is it safe. As regards the preliminary decree, then, let this suffice to show that you who have become consuls so many years afterwards are not bound by it. As for any who may, either forcibly or stealthily, have appropriated to themselves the public possessions, a few words will serve my purpose. If anyone knows that another is enjoying the use of property to which he cannot support his title by law, let him give information of it to the consuls and prosecute him according to the laws, which will not have to be drawn up afresh ; for they were drawn up long since, and no lapse of time has abrogated them. But since Aemilius has spoken also about the advantage of this measure, asserting that the allotting of the land will be for the good of all, I do not wish to leave this point either unrefuted. For he, it seems to me, looks only to the present, and does not foresee the future, namely, that the granting of a portion of the public possessions to the idle and the poor, which now seems to him of small importance, will be the cause of many great evils, since the custom thereby introduced will not only continue in the state, but will for all time prove pernicious and dangerous. For the gratification of evil desires does not eradicate them from the soul, but rather strengthens them and renders them still more evil. Let the facts convince you of this ; for why should you pay any attention to words, either mine or those of Aemilius ?

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

LIII. “ “Ιστε δήπου πάντες ὅσους ἔχειρωσάμεθα πολεμίους, καὶ ὅσην προενομεύσαμεν, καὶ ὅσα λάφυρα ἐκ τῶν ἀλόντων χωρίων ἐλάβομεν, ὃν οἱ πολέμιοι στερόμενοι τέως εὐδαιμονες ὄντες ἐν πολλῇ νῦν καθεστήκασιν ἀπορίᾳ· καὶ ὅτι τούτων οὐδενὸς ἀπηλάθησαν οὐδὲ μεῖον ἐκτήσαντο ἐν ταῖς ² διανομαῖς¹ οἱ τὴν ἀπορίαν ὀδυρόμενοι. ἀρ' οὖν διὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐπικτήσεις ἐπανορθωσάμενοι φαίνονται τι τῆς παλαιᾶς τύχης καὶ προελελυθότες εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν τοῖς βίοις; ἐβουλόμην μὲν ἄν καὶ θεοῖς εὐξάμην, ἵνα ἥττον ἥσαν ἐπίσκηνοι² λυπηροὶ τῇ πόλει· νῦν δέ, ὁρᾶτε γὰρ καὶ ἀκούετε αὐτῶν ὀδυρομένων ὅτι ἐν ἐσχάτῃ εἰσὶν ἀπορίᾳ. ὥστε οὐδὲ εἰ ταῦτα ἄ νῦν αὐτοῦνται καὶ ἔτι πλείω³ τούτων ³ λάβοιεν, ἐπανορθώσονται τοὺς βίους. οὐ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς τύχαις αὐτῶν ἐνοικεῖ τὸ ἄπορον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς τρόποις· οὓς οὐχ οἶον ὁ βραχὺς οὗτος ἐκπληρώσει κλῆρος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αἱ σύμπασαι βασιλέων τε καὶ τυράννων δωρεαί. δράσομέν τε, εἰ καὶ ταῦτα συγχωρήσομεν αὐτοῖς, ὅμοια τοῖς πρὸς ἥδονὴν θεραπεύουσι τοὺς κάμνοντας ἰατροῖς. οὐ γὰρ τὸ νοσοῦν ὑγιασθήσεται τῆς πολιτείας μέρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑγιαῖνον ἀπολαύσει τῆς νόσου. καθόλου τε, ὡς βουλή, πολλῆς ὑμῖν δεῖ ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ φροντίδος ὅπως ἄν σώσητε πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ δια- ⁴ φθειρόμενα τὰ ἥθη⁴ τῆς πόλεως. ὁρᾶτε γὰρ εἰς ἄ προελήλυθεν ἡ τοῦ δήμου ἀκοσμία καὶ ὡς οὐκέτι ἄρχεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀξιοῦ· ὥς γε οὐ μετ-

¹ ἐν ταῖς διανομαῖς B : om. R.

² ἐπίσκηνοι B : οἱ ἐπίσκηνοι R.

³ πλείω B : πλέον AC.

⁴ Sylburg : ἔθη O.

LIII. " You all know, to be sure, how many enemies we have overcome, how much territory we have ravaged, and how great spoils we have taken from the towns we have captured, the loss of which has reduced the enemy from their former prosperity to great want, and that those who now bewail their poverty were excluded from none of these spoils nor had less than their share in the distribution of them. Do they appear, then, to have improved their former condition at all by these further acquisitions or to have attained to any distinction in their lives ? I could wish and have prayed to the gods that they might do so, in order that they might have been to a less extent mere transients,¹ a nuisance to the city. But as it is, you see and hear them complaining that they are in the direst want. So that not even if they should receive what they now ask for—aye, still more than that—will they effect any improvement in their lives. For their poverty is not inherent in their condition in life, but in their character ; and not only will this small portion of land not supply their lack of that, but not even all the largesses of kings and despots would do so. If we make this concession also to them, we shall be like those physicians whose treatment of the sick is to tickle their palates. For the diseased part of the commonwealth will not be cured, but even the sound part will catch the disease. In general, senators, you need to take much care and thought how you may preserve with all possible zeal the morals of the commonwealth which are being corrupted. For you see to what lengths the unruliness of the populace has gone and that they no longer care to be governed by the consuls ; indeed, they

¹ Literally, " billeted troops."

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

εμέλησε τῶν ἐνθάδε πραττομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπεδείξατο ἀκοσμίαν, ὅπλα τε ρύψας καὶ τάξεις ἐκλιπὼν καὶ σημεῖα πολεμίοις προέμενος καὶ φυγῇ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἐπονειδίστῳ χρησάμενος, ὥσπερ ἐμοῦ μόνον ἀφαιρησόμενος τὴν ἐκ τῆς νίκης δόξαν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τῆς 5 πατρίδος τὸ κατὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν κλέος.¹ καὶ νῦν Οὐδούσκοις κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἵσταται τρόπαια, καὶ κοσμεῖται τοῖς ὑμετέροις² λαφύροις τάκείνων ἱερὰ καὶ ἐν αὐχήμασιν ἡλίκοις οὐπώποτε αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν εἰσιν, τέως ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τε καὶ κατα- 6 σκαφῆς τῶν ὑμετέρων³ δεόμεναι ἡγεμόνων. ἀρά γε δίκαιον ἡ καλὸν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις κατορθώμασι χάριν αὐτοῖς ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, καὶ δημοσίαις ἐπικοσμεῖν δωρεαῖς κληρουχήσαντες τὴν γῆν ἡς πολέμιοι κρατοῦσι τὸ κατὰ τούτους εἶναι μέρος; ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ τούτοις ἐγκαλεῖν οἷς δι’ ἀπαιδευσίαν τε καὶ δυσγένειαν ὀλίγος ἐστὶ τῶν καλῶν λόγος, ὅρῶντας ὡς οὐδ’ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἥθεσι πᾶσιν ἔτι τὸ ἀρχαῖον οἰκεῖ φρόνημα, ἀλλ’ αὐθάδεια μὲν ἡ σεμνότης καλεῖται πρὸς ἐνίων, μωρία δ’ ἡ δικαιοσύνη, μανικὸν δὲ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον, καὶ ἡλίθιον τὸ σῶφρον; ἂ δὲ μισητὰ παρὰ τοῖς προτέροις ἦν, ταῦτα πυργοῦται τε νῦν καὶ θαυμάσια ἡλίκα⁴ φαίνεται τοῖς διεφθαρμένοις ἀγαθά, ἀνανδρίᾳ καὶ βωμολοχίᾳ καὶ κακοήθεια καὶ τὸ πανούργως σοφὸν καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἄπαντα⁵ ἴταμὸν καὶ τὸ μηδενὶ τῶν κρειττόνων εὐπειθές· ἂ πολλὰς ἥδη πόλεις ἰσχυρὰς λαβόντα ἐκ βάθρων ἀνέτρεψε. 7 ταῦθ’ ὑμῖν, ὥ βουλή, εἴτε ἥδεα ἐστὶν ἀκούειν εἴτε

¹ κλέος Reiske, κράτος Kiessling, τρόπαιον Casaubon, θάρσος Post : πάθος O, Jacoby.

² Steph. : ὑμετέροις AB.

³ Steph. : ὑμετέρων AB.

were so far from repenting of what they did here that they showed the same unruliness in the field too, throwing away their arms, quitting their posts, abandoning their standards to the enemy and resorting to disgraceful flight before ever coming to grips with them, as if they could rob me alone of the glory of the victory without robbing the fatherland at the same time of the renown it would gain at the expense of its enemies. And now trophies are being erected by the Volscians over the Romans, their temples are being adorned with spoils taken from us and their cities vaunt themselves as never before—those cities which were wont aforetime to beseech our generals to save them from slavery and total destruction. Is it just, then, or becoming in you to feel gratitude to them for such successes and to honour them with public grants by dividing up the land which, so far as they are concerned, is in the enemy's possession ? Yet why should we accuse those who because of their lack of education and because of their low birth pay little regard to matters of honour, when we see that no longer in the character of all even of your own number does the ancient proud spirit dwell, but, on the contrary, some call gravity haughtiness, justice folly, courage madness, and modesty stupidity ? On the other hand, those qualities that were held in detestation by the men of former times are now extolled and appear to the corrupt as wonderful virtues, such as cowardice, buffoonery, malignity, crafty wisdom, rashness in undertaking everything and unwillingness to listen to any of one's betters—vices which ere now have laid hold on and utterly overthrown many strong states. These words, senators, whether they

⁴ ἡλίκα B : om. R.⁵ Jacoby : πάντα O.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

άνιαρά, μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας καὶ παρρησίας εἴρηται, τοῖς μὲν πεισθησομένοις ὑμῶν, ἐὰν ἄρα πεισθῆτε, ἐν τε τῷ παρόντι χρήσιμα καὶ εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλῆ· ἐμοὶ δέ, ὃς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινῆ¹ συμφέροντος ιδίας ἀπεχθείας ἀναιροῦμαι, πολλῶν ἐσόμενα κινδύνων αἴτια. προορᾶν γὰρ ἵκανός εἰμι τὰ συμβησόμενα ἐκ λογισμοῦ, καὶ παραδείγματα ποιοῦμαι τάλλοτρια πάθη τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ.”

LIV. Ταῦτ’ εἰπόντος Ἀππίου καὶ τῶν ἔλλων ὀλίγουν δεῦν πάντων τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἀποφηναμένων ἡ μὲν βουλὴ διελύετο. οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι δι’ ὀργῆς ἔχοντες τὴν ἀποτυχίαν ἀπήεσαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐσκόπουν ὅπως τιμωρήσονται τὸν ἄνδρα· ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ βουλευσαμένοις δίκη τὸν Ἀππιον ὑπαγαγεῖν θάνατον ἔχούσῃ τὸ τίμημα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατηγορήσαντες παρεκάλουν ἥκειν ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν ἀποδειχθησομένην ἡμέραν ὡς διοίσοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ 2 ψῆφον. ἀ δὲ κατηγορεῖν ἔμελλον ταῦτ’ ἦν· ὅτι πονηρὰς ἐτίθει κατὰ τοῦ δήμου γνώμας, καὶ στάσιν εἰσῆγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δημάρχῳ χεῖρας ἐπήνεγκε παρὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους, καὶ στρατιᾶς ἡγησάμενος σὺν βλάβῃ τε καὶ αἰσχύνῃ μεγάλῃ ἀνέστρεψε. ταῦτα προειπόντες ἐν τῷ πλήθει καὶ ρήτηρν τινα ἀποδείξαντες ἡμέραν ἐν ᾧ τέλος ἔφησαν ἐπιθῆσειν τῇ δίκῃ, παρήγγειλαν αὐτῷ παρεῖναι 3 τότε ἀπολογησομένῳ. ἀγανακτούντων δ’ ἀπάντων τῶν πατρικίων καὶ παρεσκευασμένων ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ σώζειν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν Ἀππιον παρακαλούντων εἶξαι τῷ καιρῷ καὶ σχῆμα ταῖς παρούσαις τύχαις ἀρμόττον μεταλαβεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔφη

¹ κοινῆ Bb : κοινοῦ ABaC.

are pleasing to you to hear or vexatious, have been uttered in all sincerity and frankness. To those among you who will be persuaded—if indeed you will be persuaded—they will prove both useful at the present time and a source of security for the future ; but to me, who in the interest of the public good am bringing private hatreds upon myself, they will be the cause of great dangers. For reason enables me to foresee what will happen ; and I take the misfortunes of others as examples of my own."

LIV. After Appius had spoken thus and almost all the others had expressed the same opinion, the senate was dismissed. The tribunes, angry at their failure, departed and after that considered how they might take revenge on the man ; and they decided, after long deliberation, to bring him to trial on a capital charge. Then, having accused him before the popular assembly, they asked all to be present on the day they should appoint in order to give their votes concerning him. The charges they planned to bring against him were these : that he had been expressing mischievous opinions against the populace and introducing sedition into the commonwealth, that he had laid hands on a tribune contrary to the sacred laws, and that after taking command of the army he had returned home with great loss and disgrace. After announcing these accusations to the populace and appointing a definite day on which they said they would hold the trial, they summoned him to appear on the day named and make his defence. All the patricians resented this proceeding and were prepared to use every effort to save Appius, and they urged him to yield to the occasion and to assume a bearing suitable to his present fortunes ; but he declared

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ποιήσειν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτός ἀγεννὲς οὕτε τῶν προγεγονότων ἔργων ἀνάξιον, μυρίους δ' ἂν ὑπομεῖναι θανάτους πρότερον ἥ γονάτων ἄψασθαι τινος· τούς τε ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ δεῖσθαι παρεσκευασμένους διεκώλυεν, εἰπὼν ὡς διπλασίως ἂν αἰδεσθείη ταῦτα ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ ποιοῦντας ἐτέρους ὄρων ἀ μηδ' αὐτὸν¹ ὑπέρ 4 ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν πρέποντα ἥγεῖται. ταῦτα τε δὴ καὶ πολλὰ ὅμοια τούτοις λέγων καὶ οὕτος ἐσθῆτα ἀλλάξας οὕτε τὸ τῆς ὄψεως γαῦρον ἀλλοιώσας οὕτε φρονήματός τι ὑφέμενος, ὡς εἶδεν ὄρθην καὶ μετέωρον ἐπὶ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τὴν πόλιν, ὀλίγων ἔτι λειπομένων ἡμερῶν ἑαυτὸν διεχειρίσατο.² οἱ μὲν δὴ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ νόσον ἐσκήπτοντο γενέσθαι τοῦ θανάτου αἰτίαν· προενεχθέντος δὲ τοῦ σώματος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὁ μὲν νίὸς αὐτοῦ προσιὼν τοῖς δημάρχοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἡξίου τὴν νόμιμον ἐκκλησίαν αὐτῷ συναγαγεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐν ἔθει Ῥωμαίοις ὅντα ἐπὶ ταῖς ταφαῖς ἀγορεύεσθαι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν λόγον ἐπιτρέψαι περὶ τοῦ 5 πατρὸς διελθεῖν. οἱ δὲ δῆμαρχοι καλουμένης ἔτι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐνίσταντο καὶ παρήγγελλον τῷ μειρακίῳ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀποφέρειν. οὐ μὴν ὁ δῆμος γε ἡνέσχετο οὐδὲ περιεῖδε τὴν ὕβριν, ἄτιμον ἐκβληθῆναι τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' ἐπέτρεψε τῷ μειρακίῳ τὰς νομιζομένας ἀποδοῦναι τῷ πατρὶ τιμάς. "Αππιος μὲν οὖν τοιαύτης τελευτῆς ἔτυχεν.

LV. Οἱ δὲ ὑπατοι καταγράψαντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἔξηγον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, Λεύκιος μὲν Οὐαλέριος Αἰκανοῖς πολεμήσων, Τιβέριος δ' Αἰμίλιος Σαβίνοις. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι κατὰ τὸν τῆς στάσεως καιρὸν

¹ αὐτὸν A : om. B, αὐτὸς Kiessling.

² διεχειρίσατο A B b C : διεχρήσατο Reiske, Jacoby.

that he would do nothing ignoble or unworthy of his former conduct, and that he would rather die a thousand deaths than cling to the knees of any man. And though his friends were prepared to make entreaties in his behalf, he would not permit it, saying that he would be doubly ashamed to see others doing for him things which he thought unbecoming even for him to do for himself. After he had said this and many other things of like nature and neither changed his dress, altered the haughtiness of his looks nor abated anything of his proud spirit, when now he saw the whole city intent upon his trial and on tiptoe with expectation, and only a few days were left, he made away with himself ; his relations, however, pretended that he had died a natural death. When his body was brought into the Forum, his son went to the tribunes and consuls and asked them to assemble the people for him in the manner usual upon such occasions and give him leave to deliver the eulogy over his father according to the practice of the Romans at the funerals of worthy men. But the tribunes, even while the consuls were calling the assembly, vetoed it and bade the youth take away the body. However, the people would not permit this nor allow the body to be cast out in dishonour and ignominy, but gave leave to the youth to render the customary honours to his father. Such was the end of Appius.

LV. The consuls,¹ having enrolled the armies, led them out of the city, Lucius Valerius to fight against the Aequians and Tiberius Aemilius against the Sabines ; for these nations had made an incursion

¹ Cf. Livy ii. 62.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Ἀρμαίων χώραν καὶ πολλὴν
 αὐτῆς κακώσαντες ἀπῆλθον λείαν ἄφθονον περι-
 βαλόμενοι. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν οὖν πολλάκις εἰς χεῖρας
 ἐλθόντες καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς λεβόντες εἰς τὸν
 χάρακα ἐν ἔχυρῷ χωρίῳ κείμενον κατέφυγον καὶ
 2 τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκέτι προήσαν εἰς μάχην. ὁ δὲ Οὐα-
 λέριος ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἐκπολιορκεῦν αὐτῶν τὸ
 στρατόπεδον ἐκωλύθη δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου. προ-
 ὕόντι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἥδη ἔργου ἔχομένῳ ζόφος ἐξ
 οὐρανοῦ γίνεται καὶ ὅμβρος πολύς, ἀστραπαὶ δὲ
 καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραί. διασκεδασθείσης δὲ τῆς
 στρατιᾶς ὁ τε χειμῶν εὐθὺς ἐπαύσατο καὶ πολλὴ
 κατέσχε τὸν τόπον αἰθρία. τοῦτο τε δὴ τὸ ἔργον
 ὀττευσάμενος ὁ ὑπατος καὶ τῶν μάντεων κωλυόν-
 των ἔτι¹ πολιορκεῦν τὸ χωρίον, ἀποτραπεὶς τὴν γῆν
 αὐτῶν ἐκάκου, καὶ ὅσῃ ἐπέτυχε λείᾳ τοὺς στρατιώ-
 ταις ἄπασαν ὡφελεῖσθαι ἐφείς, ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου
 3 τὴν δύναμιν. Τιβερίῳ δ' Αἰμιλίῳ διεξιόντι τὴν
 πολεμίαν σὺν πολλῇ καταφρονήσει κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ
 οὐδὲν ἔτι προσδοκῶντι ἀντίπαλον ἐπῆλθεν ἡ Σαβί-
 νων δύναμις καὶ γίνεται μάχη αὐτῶν ἐκ παρατάξεως
 μεσούσης μάλιστα τῆς ἡμέρας ἀρξαμένη μέχρι
 δύσεως ἡλίου. σκότους δ' ἐπιλαμβάνοντος ἀν-
 εχώρουν αἱ δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χάρακας οὕτε
 4 νικῶσαι οὕτε λειπόμεναι. ταῖς δ' ἔξῆς ἡμέραις
 νεκρούς τε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐκήδευσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ
 χάρακας ἐξωρύξαντο· καὶ γνώμας τὰς αὐτὰς εἶχον
 ἐκάτεροι, διὰ φυλακῆς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἔχειν καὶ μηκέτι
 ἄρχειν μάχης. ἔπειτα σὺν χρόνῳ τὰς σκηνὰς
 λύσαντες ἀπῆγον τὰς δυνάμεις.

¹ ἔτι Sintenis : ὅτι B, om. R.

BOOK IX. 55, 1-4

into the Romans' country on the occasion of the sedition and after plundering much of it had returned home with rich booty. The Aequians came to an engagement repeatedly ; but after receiving many wounds they fled to their camp, which was situated in a strong place, and from that time no longer came out to fight. Valerius endeavoured to take their camp by storm but was prevented by the gods from doing so. For as he was advancing and already setting himself to the task darkness descended from the sky, and a heavy rain, accompanied by lightning and terrible thunder claps. Then, as soon as the army had scattered, the storm ceased and the sky over the place became perfectly clear. The consul looking upon this as an omen and the augurs forbidding him to besiege the place any longer, he desisted and laid waste the enemy's country ; then, having yielded as spoils to the soldiers all the booty he came upon, he led the army home. As for Tiberius Aemilius, while he was overrunning the enemy's country with great contempt of them at first and no longer expecting anyone to oppose him, the army of the Sabines came upon him and a pitched battle took place between them, beginning about noon and lasting till sunset ; but when darkness came on, the two armies retired to their camps neither victorious nor yet outmatched. During the following days the commanders paid the final offices to their dead and constructed ramparts for their camps ; and both of them had the same intention, which was to defend their own positions and not to engage in another action. Then, after a time, they struck their tents and withdrew their forces.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

LVI. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μετὰ τούτους τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔτει,
 κατὰ τὴν ἑβδομηκοστὴν καὶ ὅγδόην ὀλυμπιάδα, ἦν
 ἐνίκα στάδιον Παρμενίδης Ποσειδωνιάτης, Ἀθή-
 νησὶ¹ τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος Θεαγενίδου,
 κατεστάθησαν ὑπατοι· Ρωμαίων Αὖλος Οὐεργίνιος
 Καιλιμοντανὸς² καὶ Τίτος Νομίκιος Πρίσκος. ἄρτι
 δ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφότων ἀγγέλλεται
 στρατιὰ Οὐολούσκων πολλὴ παροῦσα. καὶ μετ'
 οὐ πολὺ τῶν περιπολίων τι τῶν Ρωμαϊκῶν ἐξ
 ἐφόδου³ καταληφθὲν ἐκαίετο· ἦν δ' οὐ διὰ μακροῦ
 τῆς Ρώμης καὶ ὁ καπνὸς ἥγγελλε τοῦς ἐν τῇ πόλει
 2 τὸ πάθος. τότε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἔτι νῦν, ἵππεῖς
 τινας ἀποστείλαντες ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν οἱ ὑπατοι καὶ
 φυλακὰς καταστήσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ αὐτοὶ
 ταξάμενοι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν σὺν τοῖς εὐζωνοτάτοις,
 ἐξεδέχοντο τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἵππέων ἀγγελίας· ὡς δ'
 ἡμέρα τε ἐγένετο καὶ συνήθροιστο αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐν τῇ
 πόλει δύναμις, ἥγον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ
 διαρπάσαντες καὶ κατακαύσαντες τὸ φρούριον ἀπ-
 3 ἥεσαν διὰ τάχους. τότε μὲν οὖν οἱ ὑπατοι σβέ-
 σαντες τὰ ἔτι καιόμενα καὶ τοῦ χωρίου φυλακὴν
 καταλιπόντες ἀπῆσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· ὀλίγαις δ'
 ὕστερον ἡμέραις τὰς τε οἰκείας ἔχοντες δυνάμεις
 καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐξῆσαν ἀμφότεροι,
 Οὐεργίνιος μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴκανῶν, Νομίκιος δὲ ἐπὶ
 τὴν Οὐολούσκων· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀμφοτέροις κατὰ
 4 γνώμην τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἔχώρησεν. Οὐεργινίω
 τε γὰρ Αἴκανοὶ δησοῦντι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν οὐκ
 ἐτόλμησαν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόχον
 τινὰ ὑποκαθίσαντες ἐν ὅλαις ἐπιλέκτων ἀνδρῶν οἱ

¹ ἀθήνησι Α : ἀθήνησι δὲ R.

² Gelenius : νομεντανὸς O.

³ ἐξ ἐφόδου B : om. R.

LVI. The year following¹ their consulship, in the seventy-eighth Olympiad (the one at which Parmenides of Posidonia won the foot-race), Theagenides being annual archon at Athens, Aulus Verginius Caelimontanus and Titus Numicius Priscus were made consuls. They had no sooner entered upon their magistracy than news was brought that a numerous army of Volscians was at hand. And not long afterwards one of the guard-houses of the Romans was on fire after being taken by assault; it was not far from Rome and the smoke informed the people in the city of the disaster. Thereupon, it being still night, the consuls sent some horsemen out to reconnoitre, and stationing guards upon the walls and posting themselves before the gates with the troops which were most lightly equipped, they waited for the report of the horsemen. Then, as soon as it was day and the forces in the city had joined them, they marched against their foes. These, however, after plundering and burning the fort, had retired in haste. The consuls extinguished what was still burning, and leaving a guard over the place, returned to the city. A few days later they both took the field with not only their own forces but those of the allies as well, Verginius marching against the Aequians and Numicius against the Volscians; and the campaigns of both proceeded according to plan. The Aequians, when Verginius was laying waste their country, not only did not dare come to an engagement, but even when they placed an ambush of chosen men in the woods with

¹ Cf. Livy ii. 63. The year was 467 B.C.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἔμελλον ἐσκεδασμένοις ἐπιθήσεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, διήμαρτον τῆς ἐλπίδος, ταχείας γενομένης τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αἰσθήσεως καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς ἔξ ής πολλοὺς τῶν σφετέρων οἱ Αἰκανοὶ ἀπέβαλον· ὥστε 5 οὐδ' εἰς πεῦραν ἑτέρας μάχης ἔτ' ἥρχοντο. Νομικίω τ' ἄγοντι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν πόλιν, ἦ ἐν ταῖς πρώταις τότε τῶν Οὐόλούσκων πόλεσιν ἦν, οὐδεμίᾳ ἡναντιώθη δύναμις, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἡναγκάζοντο ἐκάστοτ'¹ ἀμύνεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἦ τε γῆ αὐτῶν ἡ πολλὴ ἐπιμήθη, καὶ πολίχνη τις ἐπιθαλάττιος ἔάλω² ἦ ἐπινείω τε καὶ ἀγορᾶ τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων ἔχρωντο, ἐκ θαλάττης τε καὶ διὰ ληστηρίων τὰς πολλὰς ἐπαγόμενοι ὠφελείας. ἀνδράποδα μὲν οὖν καὶ χρήματα καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐμπορικοὺς φόρτους ἡ στρατιὰ συγχωρήσει τοῦ ὑπάτου διήρπασε, τὰ δ' ἐλεύθερα σώματα δόποσα μὴ ὁ πόλεμος ἔφθη διειργασμένος ἐπὶ τὸ λαφυροπόλιον ἀπήχθη. ἐλήφθησαν δὲ καὶ νῆες τῶν Ἀντιατῶν εἴκοσι καὶ δύο μακραὶ καὶ ἄλλα³ νεῶν ὅπλα τε καὶ παρασκευαί.

6 μετὰ ταῦτα κελεύσαντος τοῦ ὑπάτου τάς τε οἰκίας ἐνεπίμπρασαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τοὺς νεωσοίκους κατέσκαπτον καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἥρειπον ἐκ θεμελίων, ὥστε μηδ' ἀπελθόντων σφῶν χρηστὸν ἔτι τοῖς Ἀντιάταις εἶναι τὸ φρούριον. ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπράχθη χωρὶς ἐκατέρω τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ἔτι κοινὴ στρατεία τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαβίνων γῆν, ἦν δηῶσαντες ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν· καὶ δ ἐνιαυτὸς οὗτος ἐτελεύτα.

¹ Post : ἔκαστοι Ο, ἔκεῖνον Hertlein.

² ἔάλω Cmg : om. ABC.

³ ἄλλων Enthoven.

orders to fall upon their enemies when they were scattered, they were disappointed of their hopes, inasmuch as the Romans soon became aware of their design and a sharp action ensued, in which the Aequians lost many of their men ; the result was that they would no longer even try the fortune of another engagement. Neither did any army oppose Numicius as he was marching on Antium, which was at that time among the foremost cities of the Volscians ; but the people were forced in every instance to defend themselves from their walls. In the meantime not only was the greater part of their country laid waste, but also a small town on the coast was taken which they used as a station for their ships and a market for the necessaries of life, bringing thither the many spoils they took both from the sea and by raids on land. The slaves, goods, cattle and merchandise were seized as plunder by the army with the consul's permission ; but all the free men who had not lost their lives in the war were taken away to be sold at an auction of spoils. There were also captured twenty-two warships belonging to the Antiates together with rigging and equipment for ships besides. After that at the consul's command the Romans set fire to the houses, destroyed the docks and demolished the wall to its foundations, so that even after their departure the fortress could be of no use to the Antiates. These were the exploits of the two consuls while they acted separately. They afterwards joined forces and made an incursion into the territory of the Sabines ; and having laid it waste, they returned home with the army. Thus that year ended.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

LVII. Τῷ δ' ἔξῆς ἔτει Τίτου¹ Κοῦντίου Καπιτωλίου² καὶ Κοῦντου Σερουϊλίου Πρίσκου τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν παρειληφότων ἡ τε οἰκεία δύναμις Ῥωμαίων ἄπασα ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦν καὶ τὰ συμμαχικὰ ἐκούσια παρῇν πρὶν ἐπαγγελθῆναι αὐτοῖς στρατιάν.³ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο εὐχάς τε ποιησάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς οἱ ὑπατοι καὶ καθήραντες τὸν στρατὸν ἐξήεσαν ἐπὶ 2 τοὺς πολεμίους. Σαβῖνοι μὲν οὖν, ἐφ' οὓς ὁ Σερουϊλίος ἥλασεν, οὕτ' εἰς μάχην κατέστησαν οὕτ' ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὴν ὑπαιθρον, μένοντες δ' ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ἡνείχοντο γῆς τε αὐτοῖς τεμνομένης⁴ καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐμπιμπραμένων θεραπείας τε αὐτομολούσης· ὥστε κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὥφελείαις τε βαρεῖς καὶ αὐχήμασι λαμπρούς· καὶ ἡ μὲν Σερουϊλίου στρατεία τοῦτ' ἔσχε τὸ τέλος.

3 Οἱ δὲ σὺν τῷ Κοῦντίῳ στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ τ' Αἴκανοὺς καὶ Οὐόλοιούσκους (συνεληλύθεσαν γὰρ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν οἱ πραγωνιούμενοι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ πρὸ τῆς Ἀντιατῶν πόλεως ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσαντο) θᾶττον ἢ βάδην χωροῦντες ἐπιφαίνονται αὐτοῖς· καὶ οὐ πολὺν τόπον τοῦ χάρακος αὐτῶν ἀποσχόντες, ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον ὥφθησάν τε καὶ εἶδον ἐκείνους χωρίων ταπεινῶν ὅντι τὰς ἀποσκευὰς ἔθεντο, τοῦ μὴ δεδοικέναι τὰ πολέμια πλήθει μακρῷ προῦχοντα δόξαν ποιῆσαι 4 βουλόμενοι. ὡς δ' εὐτρεπῆ τὰ εἰς μάχην ἐκατέροις ἄπαντα ἦν, ἐξήεσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ συμπεσόντες ἡγωνίζοντο μέχρι μεσούσης ἡμέρας, οὔτε εἴκοντες

¹ Τίτου added by Sylburg.

² Καπιτωλίου Cary, Καπετωλίου Sylburg, Jacoby : καπετωλίου O.

LVII. The next year,¹ when Titus Quintius Capitolinus and Quintus Servilius Priscus had succeeded to the consulship, not only were the Romans' forces all under arms, but the allied contingents as well presented themselves of their own accord before they were notified of the expedition. Thereupon the consuls, after they had offered up their vows to the gods and performed the lustration of the army, set out against their enemies. The Sabines, against whom Servilius marched, neither drew up for battle nor came out into the open, but remaining in their fortresses, permitted their land to be laid waste, their houses to be burned and their slaves to desert, so that the Romans retired from their country entirely at their ease, loaded down with spoils and exulting in their success. This was the outcome of the expedition led by Servilius.

The forces which had marched under Quintius against the Aequians and the Volscians—for the contingents from both nations who were to fight in behalf of the rest had joined together and had encamped before Antium—advancing at a quick pace, suddenly appeared before them and set down their baggage not far from the enemy's camp in the place where they had first been visible to each other, even though it was a low position; for they wished to avoid the appearance of fearing the enemy's numbers, which were much larger than their own. When everything was ready for battle on both sides, they advanced into the plain, and engaging, fought till midday, neither yielding to nor charging their

¹ For chaps. 57 f. cf. Livy ii. 64 f.

³ στρατιάν O (cf. ch. 59 ad fin.) : στρατείαν Sylburg, Jacoby.

⁴ Cobet : ἐκτεμούμενης O.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τοῖς πολεμίοις οὔτε ἐπιβαίνοντες, ἀεὶ τε τὸ κάμνον
 μέρος ἀνισοῦντες τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐφεδρίαις¹ τεταγ-
 μένοις ἔκάτεροι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ μάλιστα οἱ Αἰκανοὶ
 καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι πλήθει τῶν Ῥωμαίων προῦχοντες
 ἀνέφερον καὶ περιῆσαν, τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἔχόντων
 5 ἵσον τῇ προθυμίᾳ τὸ πλῆθος. ὁ δὲ Κοῖντιος ὅρῳ
 νεκρούς τε πολλοὺς τῶν σφετέρων καὶ τῶν περι-
 ὄντων τοὺς πλείους τραυματίας ἐμέλλησε μὲν
 ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν, δείσας δὲ μὴ δόξαν
 παράσχῃ τοῖς πολεμίοις φυγῆς, παρακινδυνευτέον
 σφίσιν εἶναι ἔγνω. ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ τῶν ἵππεων τοὺς
 κρατίστους κατὰ τὸ δεξιόν, ὁ μάλιστα ἔκαμνεν,²
 6 τοῖς σφετέροις παρεβοήθει. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμῶν
 τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀνανδρίας, τὰ ὑπομιμή-
 σκων τῶν προτέρων ἀγώνων, τὰ δὲ τὴν αἰσχύνην
 ἐπιλεγόμενος καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὃς καταλήψεσθαι
 αὐτοὺς ἐμελλεν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, τελευτῶν εἴπε τι³ οὐκ
 ἀληθές,⁴ ὁ μάλιστα μὲν τοῖς σφετέροις θάρσος
 παρέστησε, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις δέος. ἔφη γὰρ ὅτι
 θάτερον αὐτῶν ἥδη κέρας ἔξεώσε τοὺς πολέμιους
 7 καὶ ἔγγυς ἥδη ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐκείνων χάρακος. ταῦτ'
 εἰπὼν ἐνσείει τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ἵππου σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐπιλέκτοις τῶν ἵππεων
 συστάδην ἐμάχετο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τόλμα τις ἐμ-
 πίπτει τοῖς κάμνουσι τέως, καὶ ὠθοῦνται ἀπαντες
 ὥσπερ ἔτεροί τινες γεγονότες· καὶ οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι,
 τῇδε γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἐτάξαντο, μέχρι πολλοῦ διακαρ-
 τερήσαντες ἐνέκλιναν. ὡς δὲ τούτους ὁ Κοῖντιος
 ἀπεώσατο, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον παρήλαυνεν ἐπὶ

¹ τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐφεδρίαις A : τοῖς σφετέροις B.

² ὁ μάλιστα ἔκαμνεν Ba, Sylburg : ὡς μ. ἔκαμνον R.

³ εἰπέ τι Cary : εἰπεν O, Jacoby.

opponents, and both sides continually bringing up to equal strength with the enemy, by means of the troops held in reserve, any part of their line that was in distress. In this respect particularly the Aequians and Volscians, being more numerous than the Romans, rallied and had the advantage, since their foes' numbers were not equal to their ardour. Quintius, seeing many of his men dead and the greater part of the survivors wounded, was on the point of recalling his forces, but fearing that this would give the enemy the impression of a flight, he decided that they must make a bold stroke. Choosing, therefore, the best of his horse, he hastened to the aid of his men on the right wing, which was hardest pressed. And upbraiding the officers themselves for their want of courage, reminding them of their former exploits, and showing them to what shame and danger they would be exposed in fleeing, he ended with an untruth, which more than anything else inspired his own men with confidence and the enemy with fear. For he told them that their other wing had already put the enemy to flight and was by now close to their camp. Having said this, he charged the enemy, and dismounting from his horse, he and the chosen horsemen with him fought hand to hand. Upon this a kind of daring came to those whose spirits till then had flagged, and as if they had become different men, all pressed forward; and the Volscians—for these stood opposite to them—after holding out for a long time, gave way. Quintius, having repulsed these opponents, mounted his horse

* ἀληθές C, by correction : ἀληθῆ BbC.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τὴν ἔτέραν τάξιν, καὶ ἐδείκνυε τοῖς ἐκεῖ πεζοῖς τὸ
ἡπτώμενον τῶν πολεμίων μέρος καὶ παρεκελεύετο
μὴ λείπεσθαι ἀρετῇ τῶν ἔτέρων.

LVIII. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἔτι διέμενε τῶν
πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ πάντες εἰς τὸν χάρακα ἔνυφευγον.
οὐ μέντοι δίωξίς γε αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ'
εὐθὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπετράποντο, ὑπὸ κόπου τὰ
σώματα παρειμένοι καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἔτι ὅμοια
ἔχοντες. ὀλίγων δὲ διελθουσῶν ἡμερῶν, ἃς ἐσπεί-
σαντο ταφῆς τε τῶν οἰκείων νεκρῶν¹ καὶ θεραπείας
τῶν κεκμηκότων ἔνεκα, παρεσκευασμένοι τὰ εἰς
τὸν πόλεμον ἐλλείποντα, ἔτέραν ἡγωνίσαντο μάχην
2 περὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων χάρακι. προσέλθούσης γὰρ
ἄλλης δυνάμεως τοῖς Οὐδολούσκοις τε καὶ Αἴκανοῖς
ἐκ τῶν πέριξ χωρίων οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ὄντων, ἐπ-
αρθεὶς ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν ὅτι καὶ πενταπλάσιοι τῶν
πολεμίων ἦσαν οἱ σφέτεροι, τὴν τε παρεμβολὴν
τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἐν ἔχυρῳ οὖσαν ὅρῳ, κράτιστον
ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι καιρὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτοῖς. ἐνθυμη-
θεὶς δὲ ταῦτα περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἥγε τὴν δύναμιν
ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ κύκλῳ περι-
3 στήσας ἐφρούρει, μὴ λάθοιεν ἀπιόντες. ὁ δὲ
Κοῖντιος, ὡς ἔμαθε τῶν πολεμίων τὸ πλῆθος,
ἀγαπητῶς ἐδέξατο καὶ περιμείνας ἔως ἡμέρα τε
ἐγένετο καὶ ὥρα πληθυούσης μάλιστα ἀγορᾶς,
κάμνοντας ἥδη τοὺς πολεμίους αἰσθόμενος ὑπὸ τε
ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ἀκροβολισμῶν καὶ οὐ κατὰ λόχους
οὐδὲ ἐν τάξει προσάγοντας ἀλλὰ πολλαχῇ κεχυ-
μένους καὶ σποράδας, ἀνοίξας τὰς πύλας τοῦ
χάρακος ἐξέδραμεν ἀμα τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις τῶν ἵπ-
πέων· καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους ἤκο-

¹ νεκρῶν B : om. R.

and, riding along to the other wing, showed to the foot posted there the part of the enemy which was defeated, and exhorted them not to be behind the others in valour.

LVIII. After this no part of the enemy stood their ground but all fled together to their camp. The Romans, however, did not pursue them far, but promptly turned back, as their bodies were spent with toil and their weapons no longer what they had been. But after a few days had passed, for which they had made a truce in order to bury their dead and care for their sick, and they had supplied themselves with whatever was lacking for the war, they fought another battle, this time about the camp of the Romans. For, reinforcements having come to the Volscians and Aequians from the neighbouring forts round about, their general grew elated because his forces were actually five times as large as those of the enemy, and observing that the Romans' camp was not strongly situated, he thought this was a most excellent opportunity for attacking them. Having so reasoned, he led his army to their camp about midnight, and surrounding it with his men, kept it under guard so that the Romans should not steal away. Quintius, upon being informed of the numbers of the enemy, welcomed this move and bided his time till it was day and about the hour of full market. Then, perceiving that the enemy were already suffering both from lack of sleep and from the flying missiles and that they were advancing neither by centuries nor by ranks but widely extended and scattered, he opened the gates of the camp and sallied out with the flower of the horse ; and the foot, closing their ranks,

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

4 λούθουν. οἱ δὲ Οὐολοῦσκοι καταπλαγέντες αὐτῶν τὸ θράσος καὶ τὸ μανικὸν τῆς ἐφόδου βραχὺν ἀνασχόμενοι χρόνον ἀνακρούονται τε¹ καὶ ἄμα² ὑποχωροῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος· καί, ἦν γάρ τις οὐ πρόσω τοῦ στρατοπέδου λόφος ὑψηλὸς ἐπιεικῶς, εἰς τοῦτον οὖν ἀνατρέχουσιν ὡς ἀναπαυσόμενοί τε καὶ αὐθις³ εἰς τάξιν καταστησόμενοι. ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔξεγένετο καταστῆναι τε⁴ καὶ ἔαυτοὺς ἀναλαβεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ ποδὸς ἡκολούθησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι πιλήσαντες ὡς μάλιστα ἦν δυνατὸν τοὺς λόχους ἵνα μὴ καταραχθῶσι πρὸς ἄναντες χωρίον 5 βιαζόμενοι. καὶ γίνεται μέγας ἀγὼν ἐπὶ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας, νεκροί τε πίπτουσι πολλοὶ ἀφ’ ἐκατέρων. καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι πλήθει τε ὑπερέχοντες καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου προσειληφότες ἀσφαλές, οὐδετέρου τούτων οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἀπήλαυσαν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀρμαίων προθυμίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐκβιασθέντες τόν τε λόφον ἔξελιπον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα φεύγοντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπέθνησκον. οὐ γὰρ εἴασαν⁵ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀρμαῖοι διώκοντες ἀλλ’ ἐκ ποδὸς ἡκολούθησαν καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπετράποντο ἢ τὴν παρεμβολὴν αὐτῶν ἐλεῖν κατὰ κράτος. γενόμενοι δὲ σωμάτων τ’⁶ ἔγκρατεῖς⁷ ὅσα ἔγκατελείφθη⁸ ἐν⁹ τῷ χάρακι καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ χρημάτων παμπόλλων κύριοι, τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐκείνην αὐτόθι κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, τῇ δ’ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ εἰς πολιορκίαν ἐπιτήδεια παρεσκευασμένος ὁ ὑπατος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν πόλιν οὐ πλείω ἀπέχουσαν 7 τριάκοντα σταδίων ἥγε τὴν δύναμιν. ἔτυχον δὲ φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τοῖς Ἀντιάταις Αἰκανῶν τινες ἐπί-

¹ τε R : om. B.

² ἄμα R : om. B.

³ καὶ αὐθις Hertlein : αὐθις καὶ O.

⁴ τε B : om. R.

followed. The Volscians were astonished at their boldness and at the madness of their onset and, after holding out for a brief time, were repulsed and at the same time began to retire from the camp ; and, as there stood not far from it a hill of moderate height, they hastened up this hill with the intention of both resting themselves and forming in line of battle again. But they were unable to form their lines and to recover themselves, for the enemy followed at their heels, closing their ranks as much as possible in order not to be hurled back while trying to force their way up-hill. There followed a mighty struggle which lasted a large part of the day, and many fell on both sides. The Volscians, though superior in numbers and having the added security of their position, got no benefit from either circumstance ; but being forced from their position by the ardour and bravery of the Romans, they abandoned the hill and while fleeing toward their camp the greater part of them were killed. For the Romans never left them as they pursued, but followed at their heels and did not desist till they had taken their camp by storm. Then, having seized all the persons who had been left behind in the camp and taken possession of the horses and arms and huge quantities of baggage, they encamped there that night. The next day the consul, having prepared everything that was necessary for a siege, marched with his army to Antium, which was not more than thirty stades distant. It chanced that some reinforcements sent by the Aequians to the

⁶ εἴασαν Ο : ἀνίεσαν Smit.

⁶ τ' om. A.

⁷ ἐγκρατεῖς Post : ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ R, Jacoby, om. B.

⁸ ἐγκατελείφθη R : ἐγκατελήφθη Ba.

⁹ ἐν Capps : om. O, Jacoby.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

κουροι παρόντες καὶ φυλάττοντες τὰ τείχη· οἵ τότε δείσαντες τὸ 'Ρωμαίων τολμηρὸν δρασμὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεχείρουν ποιεῖσθαι. γενομένης δὲ τοῦς 'Αντιάταις γνώσεως κωλυόμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀπιέναι γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο παραδοῦναι 'Ρωμαίοις 8 ἐπιοῦσι τὴν πόλιν. τοῦτο μαθόντες ἐκ μηνύσεως οἱ 'Αντιάται τῷ τε καιρῷ εἴκουσι, καὶ κοινῇ μετ' ἐκείνων βουλευσάμενοι παραδιδόσι τῷ Κοιντίῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐφ' ὧ Αἰκανοὺς μὲν ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελθεῖν, 'Αντιάτας δὲ φρουρὰν δέξασθαι καὶ τὰ κελευόμενα ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων ποιεῖν. ἐπὶ τούτοις κύριος γενόμενος τῆς πόλεως ὁ ὑπατος καὶ λαβὼν ὄψινιά τε καὶ τάλλα ὅσων ἔδει τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταστήσας, ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν· ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ἡ βουλὴ ὑπαντήσει τε φιλανθρώπῳ ἐδέξατο καὶ θριάμβου πομπῇ ἐτίμησεν.

LIX. 'Εν δὲ τῷ μετὰ τούτους ἔτει ὑπατοι μὲν ἥσαν Τιβέριος Αἰμίλιος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Κόιντος Φάβιος, ἐνὸς τῶν τριῶν ἀδελφῶν υἱὸς τῶν ἡγησαμένων τε τῆς ἀποσταλείσης φρουρᾶς εἰς Κρεμέραν¹ καὶ διαφθαρέντων ἐκεῖ σὺν τοῖς πελάταις. ἡ δὲ βουλή, τῶν δημάρχων ἀνακινούντων πάλιν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῇ κληρουχίᾳ καὶ συναγωνιζομένου θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοῖς Αἰμιλίου, δόγμα ἐπεκύρωσε, θεραπεῦσαι τε καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν τοὺς πένητας βουλομένη, διανεῦμαί τινα μοῖραν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς 'Αντιάτῶν χώρας ἥν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει δόρατι ἐλόντες 2 κατέσχον. καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν ἡγεμόνες τῆς κληρουχίας Τίτος Κοΐντιος Καπιτωλῖνος, ὡς παρέδοσαν

¹ Portus : κρέμερα ABC.

Antiates for their protection were in the city and were guarding the walls. These men, dreading the boldness of the Romans, were now attempting to escape from the city ; but being prevented from leaving by the Antiates, who had notice of their intention, they resolved to deliver up the city to the Romans when they should attack it. The Antiates, being informed of this, yielded to the situation, and concerting measures with the Aequians, surrendered the city to Quintius upon the terms that the Aequians should have leave to depart under a truce and that the Antiates should receive a garrison and obey the commands of the Romans. The consul, having made himself master of the city upon these terms and having received provisions and everything that was needed for the army, placed a garrison there and then led his forces home. In consideration of his success the senate came out to meet him, gave him a cordial welcome and honoured him with a triumph.

LIX. The following year¹ the consuls were Tiberius Aemilius (for the second time) and Quintus Fabius, the son of one of the three brothers who had commanded the garrison that was sent out to Cremera and had perished there together with their clients.² As the tribunes, supported by Aemilius, one of the consuls, were again stirring up the populace over the land-allotment, the senate, wishing both to court and to relieve the poor, passed a decree to divide among them a certain part of the territory of the Antiates which they had taken by the sword the year before and now held. Those appointed as leaders in the allotting of the land were Titus Quintius Capitolinus,

¹ Cf. Livy iii. 1.

² See ix. 15 ff.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

Αντιάται σφᾶς αὐτούς, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος Φούριος καὶ Αῦλος Οὐεργίνιος. ἦν δὲ οὐκ ἀγαπῶσι¹ τοὺς πολλοῖς καὶ πένησι 'Ρωμαίων ἡ διανομὴ τῆς χώρας ὡς ἀπελαυνομένοις τῆς πατρίδος, ὀλίγων τε ἀπογραψαμένων ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεως ἦν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἐπιτρέψαι Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἐρνίκων τοὺς βουλομένοις τῆς ἀποικίας μετέχειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ εἰς "Αντιον ἀποσταλέντες κατένεμον τὴν γῆν τοὺς σφετέροις, μοῖράν τινα ἔξ αὐτῆς τοῖς 'Αντιάταις ὑπολειπόμενοι.

3 'Εν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ στρατείᾳ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀμφοτέρων ἐγένετο, Αἴμιλίου μὲν εἰς τὴν Σαβίνων χώραν, Φαβίου δὲ εἰς τὴν Αἰκανῶν. καὶ τῷ μὲν Αἴμιλίῳ πολὺν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ μείναντι χρόνον οὐδεμία δύναμις ὑπήντησε μαχουμένη περὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλ' ἀδεῶς αὐτὴν κείρας, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ὁ χρόνος τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων, ἀπῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις. Φαβίῳ δὲ Αἰκανοί, πρὸν εἰς ἀνάγκην ἐλθεῖν στρατιᾶς διαφθαρείσης ἢ τειχῶν ἀλισκομένων, ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο
4 περὶ διαλλαγῶν καὶ φιλίας. ὁ δὲ ὑπατος δύο τε μηνῶν τροφὰς τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ δύο χιτῶνας κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ ἀργύριον εἰς ὄψινιασμὸν ἔξαμήνου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο κατήπειγεν εἰσπραξάμενος, ἀνοχὰς ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔως ἂν εἰς 'Ρώμην ἀφικόμενοι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εὑρωνται τὰς διαλύσεις. ἡ μέντοι βουλὴ ταῦτα μαθοῦσα τῷ Φαβίῳ ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοκράτορι διαλύσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς ἐφ'
5 οἷς ἂν αὐτὸς προαιρῆται. μετὰ τοῦτο συνθῆκαι γίνονται ταῖς πόλεσι μεσιτεύσαντος αὐτὰς τοῦ

¹ οὐκ ἀγαπῶσι Kiessling, οὐκ ἄγαν ἀσπαστὴ Reiske, οὐκ ἀσμένοις ἀκούσασι Kayser, οὐκ ἀγωνισμα πᾶσι Jacoby : οὐκ ἄγων πᾶσιν ἀλλὰ A, οὐκ ἄγων πᾶσι (or ὥσαι) B.

to whom the Antiates had surrendered themselves, together with Lucius Furius and Aulus Verginius. But the masses and the poor among the Romans were dissatisfied with the proposed assignment of land, feeling that they were being banished from the fatherland¹; and when few gave in their names, the senate resolved, since the list of colonists was insufficient, to permit such of the Latins and Hernicans as so desired to join the colony. The triumvirs, accordingly, who were sent to Antium divided the land among their people, leaving a certain part of it to the Antiates.

Meanwhile both consuls took the field, Aemilius marching into the country of the Sabines and Fabius into that of the Aequians. Aemilius, though he remained a long time in the enemy's country, encountered no army ready to fight for it, but ravaged it with impunity; then, when the time for the elections was at hand, he led his forces home. To Fabius the Aequians, even before they were compelled to do so by the destruction of their army or the capture of their walls, sent heralds to sue for a reconciliation and friendship. The consul, after exacting from them two months' provisions for his army, two tunics for every man and six months' pay, and whatever else was urgently required, concluded a truce with them till they should go to Rome and obtain the terms of peace from the senate. The senate, however, when informed of this, gave Fabius full power to make peace with the Aequians upon such terms as he himself should elect. After that the two nations by the mediation of the consul made a

¹ The majority preferred, as Livy says, to get land at Rome.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ύπάτου τοιαίδε· Αἰκανοὺς εἶναι 'Ρωμαίων ύπηκόους πόλεις τε καὶ χώρας τὰς ἔαυτῶν ἔχοντας, ἀποστέλλειν δὲ 'Ρωμαίοις μηδὲν ὅτι μὴ στρατιάν, ὅταν αὐτοῖς παραγγελῆ¹, τέλεσι τοῦς ἴδιοις ἐκπέμποντας.² ταῦτα συνθέμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν Φάβιος καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρχὰς ἄμα τῷ συνυπάτῳ κατέστησεν.

LX. Ἡσαν δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποδειχθέντες ὑπατοι Σπόριος Ποστόμιος Ἀλβῖνος³ καὶ Κόιντος Σερουτίλιος Πρίσκος τὸ δεύτερον. ἐπὶ τούτων ἔδοξαν Αἰκανοὶ παραβαίνειν τὰς πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους νεωστὶ γενομένας ὁμολογίας ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας· Ἀντιατῶν ὅσοι μὲν εἶχον ἐφέστια καὶ κλήρους ἔμειναν ἐν τῇ γῇ, τά τε ἀπομερισθέντα σφίσι καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν κληρούχων ἀφορισθέντα κτήματα γεωργοῦντες ἐπὶ ρήταις τισι καὶ τεταγμέναις μοίραις ἃς ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτοῖς ἐτέλουν· οἷς δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἦν ἔξελιπον τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ὑποδεχομένων αὐτοὺς προθύμως τῶν Αἰκανῶν ἐκεῖθεν ὄρμώμενοι τοὺς Λατίνων ἀγροὺς ἐλήστευον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν Αἰκανῶν ὅσοι τολμηροί τε καὶ ἀποροὶ ἦσαν συνελάμβανον αὐτοῖς τῶν ληστηρίων. ταῦτα Λατίνων ἀποδυρομένων ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἀξιούντων ἡ στρατιὰν πέμπειν ἢ συγχωρῆσαι⁴ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄρξαντας πολέμου ἀμύνασθαι, μαθόντες οἱ σύνεδροι στρατιὰν μὲν οὕτ' αὐτοὶ ἐψηφίσαντο πέμπειν οὔτε Λατίνοις ἐπέτρεψαν ἔξαγειν, πρεσβευτὰς δ' ἐλόμενοι⁵ τρεῖς, ὧν ἥγεῖτο Κόιντος Φάβιος ὁ τὰς

¹ Jacoby : παραγγέλη Bb, παραγγέλλη A, παραγγελθῆ Sylburg. ² αὐτάς after ἐκπέμποντας deleted by Kiessling.

³ Lapus, Sigonius : λαούνιος AC, λαβίνιος B.

⁴ συγχωρῆσαι B : συγχωρήσειν R.

treaty as follows : the Aequians were to be subject to the Romans while still possessing their cities and lands, and were not to send anything to the Romans except troops, when so ordered, these to be maintained at their own expense. Fabius, having made this treaty, returned home with his army and together with his fellow consul nominated magistrates for the following year.

LX. The consuls¹ named by them were Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Servilius Priscus, the latter for the second time. In their consulship the Aequians were held to be violating the agreements lately made with the Romans, and this for the following reason. All the Antiates who possessed homes and allotments of land remained in the country cultivating not only the lands assigned to them but also those which had been taken from them by the colonists,² tilling the latter on the basis of certain fixed shares which they paid to the colonists out of the produce. But those who had no such possessions left the city, and being heartily welcomed by the Aequians, were using their country as a base from which to ravage the fields of the Latins. As a consequence, such of the Aequians too as were bold and needy joined with them in their raids. When the Latins complained before the senate of their situation and asked them either to send an army to their relief or to permit them to take vengeance themselves on those who had begun the war, the senators, on hearing their complaint, neither voted to send an army themselves nor permitted the Latins to lead out theirs, but choosing three ambassadors, of whom Quintus

¹ Cf. Livy iii. 2, 1.

² See chap. 59, 1 f.

⁵ ἐλόμενοι Ο : ἔπειρην Portus, ἀπέστειλαν Kiessling.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος συνθήκας ποιησάμενος, ἐπεμψαν¹ ἐντολὰς αὐτοῖς δόντες πυνθάνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων τοῦ ἔθνους πότερα κοινῇ γνώμῃ τὰ ληστήρια ἐξαποστέλλουσιν εἰς τε τὴν τῶν συμμάχων καὶ εἰς² τὴν τῶν Ρωμαίων γῆν (ἐγένοντο γάρ τινες καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν καταδρομαὶ τῶν φυγάδων) ἢ τῶν πραττομένων οὐδενός ἔστι τὸ κοινὸν αἴτιον· καὶ ἐὰν φῶσιν ἴδιωτῶν ἕργα εἶναι μὴ ἐπιτρέφαντος τοῦ δήμου, τά τε ἡρπασμένα ἀπαιτεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἕργασαμένους
 4 τάδικήματα ἐκδότους αἴτεῖν.³ ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἀκούσαντες τοὺς λόγους οἱ⁴ Αἰκανοὶ πλαγίας αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν ἀποκρίσεις, τὸ μὲν ἔργον οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς λέγοντες γνώμης γεγονέναι, τοὺς δὲ δράσαντας οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἐκδιδόναι, πόλιν τε ἀπολωλεκότας καὶ ἀλήτας γεγονότας σφῶν τε ἐν
 5 τῇ πενίᾳ⁵ ἱκέτας. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Φάβιος ἀγανακτῶν καὶ τὰς ψευσθείσας πρὸς αὐτῶν⁶ ὄμολογίας ἀνακαλούμενος, ὡς εἶδεν εἰρωνευομένους τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ εἰς βουλὴν χρόνον αἴτουμένους ξενισμοῦ τε χάριν ἐπικατέχοντας αὐτόν, ὑπέμεινέ τε κατοπτεῦσαι τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πράγματα βουλόμενος· καὶ διεξιὰν ἅπαντα τόπον κατὰ πρόφασιν θεωρίας δημόσιον τε καὶ ἱερόν,⁷ τά τε ἕργαστήρια πληθύονθ' ὄρῶν⁸ ἅπαντα πολεμικῶν ὅπλων, τῶν μὲν ἥδη συντετε-

¹ ἐπεμψαν added here by Cary, ἀπέστειλαν by Sintenis, Jacoby (cf. n. 5 on preceding page).

² εἰς B : om. R.

³ αἴτεῖν O : παραλαβεῖν Reiske, ἄγειν Sintenis, om. Jacoby.

⁴ οἱ B : om. R.

⁵ ἐν τῇ πενίᾳ Sintenis, ἐν τῷ πένθει Post : ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ O.

⁶ Sylburg : αὐτὸν O.

⁷ δημόσιον . . . ἱερόν Sintenis : δημοσίων . . . ἱερῶν O.

Fabius, who had concluded the treaty with the Aequian nation, was the leader, they sent¹ them out with instructions to inquire of the leaders of the nation whether it was by general consent that they were sending out these bands of brigands into the territory of the allies and also into that of the Romans—for there had been some raids into the latter too by the fugitive Antiates—or whether the state had no hand in any of the things that were going on ; and if they should say that the acts complained of were the work of private persons without the consent of the people, they were to demand restitution of the stolen property and ask for the surrender of those who had committed the wrongs. Upon the arrival of the ambassadors the Aequians, having heard their demands, gave them an evasive answer, saying, indeed, that the plundering had not been done by public consent, yet refusing to deliver up the perpetrators, who, after losing their own city and becoming wanderers, had in their destitution² become suppliants of the Aequians. Fabius resented this and appealed to the treaty which they had violated ; but seeing that the Aequians were dissembling, asking time for deliberation and seeking to detain him under the pretence of hospitality, he remained there in order to spy upon what was going on in the city. And visiting every place, both profane and sacred, on the pretext of seeing the sights, and observing the shops full of weapons of war, some already completed and

¹ This verb is wanting in the MSS.

² Or, following Post's emendation, " in their misfortune."

⁸ πληθύονθ' ὄρῶν (*cf.* chap. 71, 1) added by Cary, πλήρη
ὄρῶν by Sintenis, Jacoby; Post would add ἔδων μεστὰ after
ἀπαντα.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

λεσμένων τῶν δ' ἔτι ἐν χερσὶν ὅντων, ἔγνω τὴν
 6 διάνοιαν αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀρώμην
 ἀπήγγειλε πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἃ τε ἤκουσε καὶ ἂ εἶδε.
 κάκείνη οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐνδοιάσασα τοὺς εἰρηνοδίκας
 ἐψηφίσατο πέμπειν καταγγελοῦντας¹ Αἰκανοῖς τὸν
 πόλεμον ἔὰν μὴ τούς τε Ἀντιατῶν φυγάδας ἀπ-
 ελάσωσιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δίκας τοῖς ἡδικημέ-
 νοις ὑπόσχωνται.² οἱ δ' Αἰκανοὶ θραυστέρας πρὸς
 7 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐποιήσαντο τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, καὶ τὸν
 πόλεμον οὐκ ἀκούσιοι δέχεσθαι ὥμολόγησαν. ἀλλὰ
 γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεγένετο Ἀρωμαίοις στρατιὰν ἐν ἐκείνῳ
 τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλαι, εἴτε τοῦ δαι-
 μονίου κωλύοντος εἴτε διὰ τὰς νόσους αἱ κατ-
 ἐσχον τὴν πληθὺν ἐπὶ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ ἔτους.
 ἀλλὰ φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τῶν συμμάχων ὀλίγη τις
 ἔξελθοῦσα δύναμις, ἡς ἦγεντο Κόιντος Σερουΐλιος
 ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, ἐν τοῖς Λατίνων ὅροις δι-
 ἔτριψεν.

8 Ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸν νεών τοῦ Πιστίου Διὸς
 Σπόριος Ποστόμιος ὁ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ καθιέρωσε
 μηνὸς Ἰουνίου ταῖς καλουμέναις νώναις ἐπὶ τοῦ
 Ἐννυαλίου λόφου, κατασκευασθέντα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 τελευταίου βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου, τῆς δὲ νομιζομένης
 παρὰ Ἀρωμαίοις ἀνιερώσεως οὐ τυχόντα ὑπ'³ ἐκεί-
 νου. τότε δὲ⁴ τῇ βουλῇ δόξαν ὁ Ποστόμιος ἔλαβεν
 αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιγραφήν. ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῶν
 ὑπάτων τούτων λόγου ἄξιον ἐπράχθη.

LXI. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ ἔβδομηκοστῆς
 ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα Ξενοφῶν Κορίνθιος, ἄρχον-

¹ καταγγελοῦντας Cmg : καταγγέλλοντας ABC.

² ὑπόσχωσιν Cobet.

³ ὑπ' AB : παρ' C, ἐπ' Portus.

others still in the making, he perceived their intention. And returning to Rome, he reported to the senate both what he had heard and what he had seen. The senate, without hesitating any longer, voted to send the *fetiales*¹ to declare war against the Aequians unless they expelled the Antiate fugitives from the city and promised satisfaction to the injured. The Aequians gave a rather bold answer to the *fetiales* and admitted that they not unwillingly accepted war. But the Romans were unable to send an army against them that year, either because Heaven forbade it or because of the maladies with which the population was afflicted during a great part of the year; however, for the protection of their allies a small army marched forth under Quintus Servilius, one of the consuls, and remained on the frontiers of the Latins.

At Rome his colleague, Spurius Postumius, consecrated the temple of Dius Fidius upon the Quirinal hill on the day called the nones of June. This temple had been built by Tarquinius, the last king, but had not received at his hands the dedication customary among the Romans. At this time by order of the senate the name of Postumius was inscribed on the temple. Nothing else worth relating happened during that consulship.

LXI. In the seventy-ninth Olympiad² (the one at which Xenophon of Corinth won the foot-race),³

¹ Cf. ii. 72.

² Cf. Livy iii. 2, 2–3, 10. The year was 463 B.C.

³ This victory of Xenophon is celebrated by Pindar in the 13th Olympian ode.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρχεδημίδου, παραλαμβάνονται τὴν
 ὑπατείαν Τίτος Κοῖντιος Καπιτωλῖνος καὶ Κόιντος
 Φάβιος Οὐιβουλανός,¹ Κοῖντιος μὲν τὸ τρίτον ἐπὶ²
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου, Φάβιος δὲ
 τὸ δεύτερον. οἷς ἡ βουλὴ ἀμφοτέροις στρατιᾶς
 μεγάλας καὶ εὖ παρεσκευασμένας παραδοῦσα ἔξ-
 2 ἐπεμψε. Κοῖντιος μὲν οὖν ἐτάχθη φυλάττειν τὴν
 σφετέραν γῆν ὅση τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅμορος ἦν,
 Φάβιος δὲ τὴν Αἰκανῶν δηοῦν· καὶ καταλαμβάνει
 τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς μεθορίοις ὑπομένοντας
 αὐτὸν σὺν δυνάμει πολλῆ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰς παρ-
 εμβολὰς ἐν τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐκάτεροι χωρίοις
 κατεστήσαντο, προήεσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον Αἰκανῶν
 προκαλεσαμένων καὶ ἀρξάντων τῆς μάχης, καὶ
 διέμειναν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἥμέρας ἐκθύμως καὶ φιλο-
 πόνως ἀγωνιζόμενοι, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν οὐ παρ' ἄλλον
 3 τινὰ ἢ παρ' ἑαυτὸν ἔκαστος τιθέμενος. ὡς δὲ τὰ
 ξίφη τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτῶν διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς πληγὰς
 ἄχρηστα ἐγεγόνει, σημηνάντων τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν τῶν
 ἥγεμόνων ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς χάρακας. καὶ μετὰ
 τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἀγών μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐκέτ'
 αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, ἀκροβολισμοὶ δέ τινες καὶ συμπλο-
 καὶ ψιλῶν περὶ τε ὕδασι καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾶς παραπομπαῖς
 συνεχεῖς· κάν τούτοις μέντοι τὰ πολλὰ ἥσαν ἵσόρ-
 4 ροποι. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο χρόνῳ μοῖρά τις
 ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰκανῶν στρατιᾶς παρελθοῦσα καθ' ἐτέρας
 ὄδοὺς² ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἢ πλεῖστον
 ἀφειστήκει τῆς ὁμόρου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀφύλακτος
 ἦν. ἔξ ἣς ἀνθρώπους τε πολλοὺς συνήρπασε καὶ

¹ Sylburg : βωλανὸς ACmg, ιουλανὸς BC.

² ὄδοὺς Jacoby : ἀφύλακτος ὄδοὺς Ba, ἀφυλάκτους ὄδοὺς Bb, ὄδοὺς ἀφυλάκτους R.

Archedemides being archon at Athens, Titus Quintius Capitolinus and Quintus Fabius Vibulanus succeeded to the consulship, Quintius being elected by the people to that office for the third time and Fabius for the second. Both of them the senate sent into the field, giving them large and well-equipped armies. Quintius was ordered to defend the part of their territory which adjoined that of the enemy, and Fabius to plunder the country of the Aequians. Fabius found the Aequians waiting for him on their own borders with a large force. After both sides had placed their camps in the most advantageous positions, they advanced into the plain, the Aequians being the challengers and beginning the battle ; and they continued fighting spiritedly and with perseverance for a great part of the day, each man placing his hopes of victory in no one but himself. But when the swords of the greater part of them had become useless from repeated blows, the generals ordered the retreat to be sounded and the men returned to their camps. After this action no pitched battle was again fought by them, but there were sundry skirmishes and constant clashes of the light-armed troops as they went to fetch water and escorted convoys of provisions ; and in these encounters, moreover, they were as a rule evenly matched. While this was going on, a detachment of the Aequians' army, marching by other roads, made an irruption into the part of the Roman territory which lay at a very great distance from the common boundary and was for that reason unguarded ; and seizing there many persons and goods, they returned to their homes without

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

χρήματα, λαθοῦσά τε τοὺς σὺν τῷ Κοῦντίῳ περιπόλους τῆς σφετέρας γῆς ἀπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα. τοῦτο συνεχῶς ἐγίνετο καὶ πολλὴν παρεῖχεν αἰσχύνην τοῖς ὑπάτοις. ἔπειτα μαθὼν διὰ κατασκόπων τε καὶ αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Φάβιος ἔξεληλυθυῖαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν Αἰκανῶν τὴν κρατίστην δύναμιν, ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ καταλιπὼν τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους αὐτὸς ἔξῆλθε νύκτωρ ἵππεων ἐπαγόμενος καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ ἀκμαιότατον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Αἰκανοί, διηρπακότες τὰ χωρία οὓς ἐνέβαλον, ἀπῆεσαν ἐπαγόμενοι πολλὰς ὡφελείας, ὁ δὲ Φάβιος οὐ πολὺ προελθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφαίνεται καὶ τὴν τε λείαν ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ μάχη τοὺς ὑπομείναντας νικᾷ γενομένους ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σποράδες ἐμπειρίᾳ ὅδῶν λαθόντες 6 τοὺς διώκοντας κατέφυγον εἰς τὸν χάρακα. ἔπειτα δὲ ταύτη ἀνεκρούσθησαν οἱ Αἰκανοὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ παρὰ δόξαν σφίσι γενομένῃ, λύσαντες τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὑπὸ νύκτα ψῆχοντο καὶ οὐκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξῆεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· ἀλλ' ἡνείχοντο σῖτόν τε, ὃς ἐν ἀκμῇ τότε ἦν, συγκομιζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀγέλας βοσκημάτων ἀπελαυνομένας ὁρῶντες, χρήματά τε διαρπαζόμενα καὶ αὐλὰς πυρὶ διδομένας καὶ αἰχμαλώτους πολλοὺς ἀγομένους. τοῦτο διαπραξάμενος ὁ Φάβιος, ἐπειδὴ παραδοῦναι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐτέροις ἔδει, τὴν δύναμιν ἀναστήσας ἀπῆγε· τὸ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Κοῦντιος ἐποίει.

LXII. Ἀφικόμενοι δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέδειξαν ὑπάτους Αὐλον Ποστόμιον "Αλβον καὶ Σερούιον Φούριον. οἱ μὲν δὴ νεωστὶ παρειλήφεσαν τὴν ἀρχήν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων Λατίνων ἄγγελοι Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ σπουδὴν διαπεμφθέντες ἥκον. οὗτοι καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν διεσάφουν Ἀντια-

being discovered by the patrols under Quintius who were guarding their own territory. This happened continually and brought much disgrace upon the consuls. Later Fabius, learning through scouts and prisoners that the best of the Aequians' forces had gone out of their camp, set out himself in the night with the flower of the horse and foot, leaving the oldest men in the camp. The Aequians, after plundering the regions which they had invaded, were returning home with many spoils. But they had not proceeded far when Fabius suddenly appeared before them, took away their booty, and defeated in battle those who valiantly withstood him; the rest scattered, and being familiar with the roads, escaped their pursuers and fled to their camp for refuge. When the Aequians had been checked by this unexpected disaster, they broke camp and departed as night came on; and after that they ventured out no more from their city, but submitted to seeing their corn, which was then ripe, carried off by the enemy, their herds of cattle driven away, their effects seized, their farm-houses given to the flames and many prisoners led away. After these achievements Fabius, the time having come for the consuls to hand over their power to their successors, took his army and returned home; and Quintius did the same.

LXII. When they came to Rome,¹ they named Aulus Postumius Albus and Servius Furius consuls. These had just taken over their magistracy when messengers from the Latin allies, sent in haste to the Romans, arrived. These, being introduced into the senate, informed them that the situation at Antium

¹ For chaps. 62-66 *cf.* Livy iii. 4-5. Livy's name for the second consul is Spurius Furius Fusus.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τῶν τὰ πράγματα οὐ βέβαια εἶναι, κρύφα τε διαπρεσβευομένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς Αἰκανῶν καὶ ἀναφανδὸν εἰσιόντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀγορᾶς προφάσει πολλῶν Οὐολούσκων, οὓς ἐπήγοντο οἱ πρότερον ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν Ἀντιατῶν, ὅτ’ ἐκληρουχεῖτο, διὰ πενίαν καὶ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς ἀπαυτομολήσαντες,
 2 ὥσπερ ἔφην. συνδιεφθάρθαι τε τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἄμα ἥγγελλον καὶ τῶν ἐποίκων συχνούς· καὶ εἰ μὴ προκαταληφθήσονται φυλακῇ ἀξιόχρεῳ, ἀναστήσεσθαι τινα ἔλεγον κάκεῖθεν ἀπροσδόκητον Ῥωμαίοις πόλεμον. τούτων οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἔτεροι πεμφθέντες ὑφ' Ἐρνίκων ἥγγελλον ἐξεληλυθέναι μεγάλην δύναμιν Αἰκανῶν καὶ ἐγκαθεζομένην ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ γῆ φέρειν τε πάντα καὶ ἄγειν, στρατεύειν δ' ἄμα τοῖς Αἰκανοῖς καὶ Οὐολούσκους τὴν πλείω³ τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν παρεχομένους. πρὸς ταῦτα ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν Ἀντιατῶν ταράττουσι τὰ πράγματα (ἥκον γὰρ ἀπολογησόμενοί τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ καταφανεῖς ἐγένοντο οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς φρονοῦντες) φυλακὴν ἔτέραν πέμψαι ἡ ἔμελλε δι' ἀσφαλείας ἐξειν τὴν πόλιν· ἐπὶ δ' Αἰκανοὺς ἄγειν τὴν στρατιὰν τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Σερούιον
 4 Φούριον· καὶ ἐγίνετο ταχεῖα ἀμφοῦν ἡ ἐξοδος. οἱ δ' Αἰκανοὶ μαθόντες ἐξεληλυθυῖαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιάν, ἀναστάντες ἐκ τῆς¹ Ἐρνίκων ἐχώρουν αὐτοῖς ὄμόσε. ἐπεὶ δ' εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὐ πολὺ διαστάντες κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πολέμιοι ἥκον διάπειραν αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης

¹ ἐκ τῆς Gelenius : εἰς τὴν Ο.

¹ In chap. 60, 2.

was precarious, since the Aequians were sending envoys thither in secret and large numbers of Volscians were resorting to the city openly on the pretext of trading ; they were being brought there by those who had left Antium earlier because of poverty, when their lands were allotted among the Roman colonists, and had deserted to the Aequians, as I have related.¹ At the same time they reported that along with the natives many also of the colonists had been corrupted, and that unless their purpose were forestalled by means of an adequate garrison an unexpected war would break out in that quarter also against the Romans. Not long after this other messengers, sent by the Hernicans, brought word that a large force of Aequians had set out and now lay encamped in the Hernicans' country, where they were plundering everything, and that the Volscians were joining with the Aequians in the expedition, contributing the larger part of the army. In view of all this the senate voted, first, with reference to those among the Antiates who were creating the disturbances—for some of them had come to Rome to defend their conduct and had made it clear that they had no honest purpose—to send another garrison to keep the city safe ; and second, with reference to the Aequians, that Servius Furius, one of the consuls, should lead the army against them ; and both forces promptly set out. The Aequians, upon learning that the Roman army had taken the field, departed from the country of the Hernicans and went to meet it. When the two armies came in sight of one another, they encamped that day not far apart ; and the next day the enemy advanced toward the camp of the Romans in order to ascertain their intentions. Then, when the

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

5 ληψόμενοι. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐξήεσαν εἰς μάχην, ἀκροβολισμοῖς χρησάμενοι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον δράσαντες σὺν μεγάλῳ αὐχήματι ἀπῆλθον. ὁ μέντοι Ἡρακλείων ὑπατος ἐκλιπὼν τὸν χάρακα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ (τὸ γὰρ χωρίον οὐ λίαν ἀσφαλὲς ἦν) μετεστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν ἐπιτηδειοτέρῳ, ἔνθα τάφρον τ' ὠρύξατο βαθυτέραν καὶ χάρακα ἐβάλετο ὑψηλότερον. τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ταῦθ' ὄρῶσι πολὺ θράσος προσεγένετο· καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπειδὴ σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς ἀφίκετο στρατιὰ παρὰ τοῦ Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἔθνους, οὐδὲν ἔτι διαμελήσαντες ἐπῆγον τῷ Ἡρακλείων χάρακι.

LXIII. 'Ο δ' ὑπατος, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι οὐκ ἀξιόμαχος ἔσται ἡ σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμις ἀγωνιζομένη πρὸς ἀμφότερα τὰ ἔθνη, πέμπει τινὰς ἐκ τῶν ἵππεων γράμμata εἰς τὴν Ἡρακλείων κομίζοντας, δι' ὧν ἡξίου ταχεῖαν αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν ἐπικουρίαν, ὡς κινδυνευούσης 2 ὅλης διαφθαρῆναι τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς. ταῦτα ἐπιλεξάμενος ὁ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ Ποστόμιος (ἥσαν δὲ μέσαι νύκτες μάλιστα ὅτε οἱ ἵππεῖς ἀφίκοντο) διὰ κηρύκων πολλῶν τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν συνεκάλει· καὶ γίνεται δόγμα βουλῆς, πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν γενέσθαι, Τίτον μὲν Κοῖντιον τὸν ὑπατεύσαντα τὸ τρίτον, ἔχοντα τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους τῶν νέων πεζούς τε καὶ ἵππεῖς, ἀρχῇ κοσμηθέντα ἀνθυπάτῳ χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξ ἐφόδου· Αὖλον δὲ Ποστόμιον τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ὑπάτων τὰς λοιπὰς δυνάμεις συναγαγόντα, ἃς ἔδει χρονιώτερον συνελθεῖν, ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ τάχους ἐγγένηται βοηθεῖν. 3 ἡμέρα δ' ἥδη διέφωσκε,¹ καὶ ὁ Κοῖντιος συνήγαγε τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς² πεντακισχιλίους μάλιστ' ἄνδρας·

¹ Kiessling : διεπέφωσκε Ο, ἐπέφωσκε L. Dindorf.

Romans did not come out to fight, they engaged in skirmishes, and without performing any noteworthy exploit retired with great boasting. But the Roman consul on the following day left his entrenchments—for the place was not very safe—and shifted his camp to a more advantageous position, where he dug a deeper trench and threw up a higher rampart. The enemy, seeing this, were greatly emboldened, and still more so when an army came to their assistance from both the Volscian and the Aequian nations ; so that without further delay they led their forces against the camp of the Romans.

LXIII. The consul, realizing that the army under his command would not be strong enough to contend against both these nations, sent some of his horsemen to Rome with letters in which he asked that reinforcements might speedily reach him, as his whole army was in danger of being destroyed. When his colleague Postumius had read the letter—it was about midnight when the horsemen arrived—he sent out numerous heralds to call the senators together from their homes ; and before it was broad daylight a decree was passed by them that Titus Quintius, who had been thrice consul, should take the flower of the young men, both foot and horse, and, invested with proconsular power, should march against the enemy and attack them immediately ; also that Aulus Postumius, the other consul, should get together the rest of the troops, whose assembling would require more time, and go to the assistance of the others as speedily as possible. By the time day began to break Quintius got together the volunteers, about five thousand in

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἐπισχῶν ἔξῆγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. τοῦτο ὑποπτεύσαντες ἔμενον οἱ Αἰκανοί, καὶ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἐπικουρίαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσβάλλειν τῷ χάρακι αὐτῶν διανοηθέντες¹ ὡς βίᾳ καὶ πλήθει ἀλωσομένων,² ἔξηλθον ἀθρόοι διχῇ νείμαντες αὐτούς.

4 γίνεται τε μέγας ἄγων δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἵταμῶς αὐτῶν ἐπιβαινόντων τοῖς προτειχίσμασι κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη καὶ οὕτε παλτῶν οὕτε βελῶν ἀποτοξευτῶν³ οὕτε χερμάδων ἀπὸ σφενδόνης ἀφιεμένων ἀδιαλείπτοις βολαῖς ἀνειργομένων. ἔνθα δὴ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις ὃ τε ὕπατος καὶ ὁ πρεσβευτῆς ὑφ' ἔνα καιρὸν ἀναπετάσαντες τὰς πύλας, ἅμα τοῖς ἀκμαιοτάτοις ἐκτρέχουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, κατ' ἄμφω τε τὰ μέρη τῆς προσβολῆς συρράξαντες αὐτοῖς ἀποτρέπουσι τοὺς ἐπιβαίνοντας τῷ χάρακι.

5 τροπῆς δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν ὕπατος ἐπ' ὅλύγον διώξας τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν τεταγμένους⁴ ἀνέστρεψεν· ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρεσβευτῆς Πόπλιος Φούριος ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ προθυμίας φερόμενος ἄχρι τῆς παρεμβολῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἤλασε διώκων τε καὶ κτείνων. ἥσαν δὲ δύο σπεῖραι περὶ αὐτὸν οὐ πλείους ἀνδρῶν ἔχουσαι χιλίων. τοῦτο μαθόντες οἱ πολέμιοι, περὶ πεντακισχιλίους μάλιστα γενόμενοι, χωροῦσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἔξ ἐναντίας προσήσαν, ἵππεῖς δ' αὐτῶν κύκλῳ περιελάσαντες κατὰ νότου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις 6 ἐφίστανται. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ κυκλωθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἱ σὺν τῷ Ποπλίῳ καὶ δίχα τῶν σφετέρων

¹ διανοηθέντες Ο : καὶ διανοηθέντες Kiessling, Jacoby.

² Post : ἀλωσόμενον Ο, Jacoby.

³ βελῶν ἀποτοξευτῶν Post, βελῶν ἀπὸ τόξων Sylburg, βελῶν ὑπὸ τοξοτῶν Jacoby : βελῶν ἀπὸ τοξοτῶν Acmg, τοξοτῶν (omitting βελῶν ἀπὸ) BC.

number ; and after waiting only a short time he led them out of the city. The Aequians, suspecting this move, remained where they were ; and having determined, before reinforcements should come to the Romans, to attack their camp, in the belief that it would be taken by main strength and superior numbers, they sallied out in force after dividing themselves into two bodies. There ensued a mighty struggle, lasting throughout the entire day, as the enemy boldly mounted the outworks in many places and were not repulsed, though exposed to a continual shower of javelins, missiles shot from bows, and stones thrown by slings. Then it was that the consul and the legate, after encouraging one another, both opened the gates at the same time, and sallying out against their opponents with the best of their men, engaged them where they were attacking on both sides of the camp, and repulsed those who were mounting the ramparts. When the enemy had been routed, the consul pursued for a short distance those who had been arrayed opposite to him, and then returned. But his brother and legate, Publius Furius, inspired by courage and ardour, drove ahead, pursuing and slaying, till he came to the enemy's camp. He had with him two cohorts, not exceeding a thousand men. Upon learning of this, the enemy, who were about five thousand, advanced against him from their camp. These attacked the Romans in front, while their horse, circling round them, fell upon their rear. The troops of Publius, when thus surrounded and cut off from their own army, though

⁴ τεταγμένος R : om. B, Jacoby.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἀποληφθέντες, ἔξὸν αὐτοῖς σώζεσθαι παραδοῦσι τὰ
ὅπλα (προύκαλοῦντο γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰς τοῦτο οἱ πολέ-
μοι καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιοῦντο χιλίους Ῥωμαίων
τοὺς ἀρίστους αὐχμαλώτους λαβεῖν, ὡς διὰ τούτων
διαλύσεις εὑρησόμενοι καλὰς τοῦ πολέμου), κατα-
φρονήσαντες αὐτῶν καὶ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις
μηδὲν ἀνάξιον πρᾶξαι τῆς πόλεως, μαχόμενοι καὶ
πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες τῶν πολεμίων ἄπαντες ἀπο-
θνήσκουσιν.

LXIV. Διαφθαρέντων δὲ τούτων ἐπαρθέντες οἱ
Αἰκανοὶ τῷ προτερήματι παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα
τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τὴν τε τοῦ Ποπλίου κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ²
δορατίου πεπηγυῖαν ἀνατείνοντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ὡς δὴ τούτῳ κάταπληξό-
μενοι τοὺς ἔνδον καὶ ἀναγκάσοντες παραδοῦναι
σφίσι τὰ ὅπλα. τοῖς δ' ἄρα πρὸς μὲν τὴν συμφορὰν
τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἔλεός τις παρέστη καὶ ἀνεκλάοντο
αὐτῶν τὴν τύχην, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα θράσος δι-
πλάσιον ἐνέψυ καὶ τοῦ νικᾶν ἥ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις
τρόπον ἀποθανεῖν, πρὶν εἰς πολεμίων χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν,
2 καλὸς ἔρως. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα παρεστρα-
τοπεδευκότων τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων ἄγρυπνοί
τε οἱ³ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐπισκευάζοντες τὰ πεπονηκότα
τοῦ χάρακος διετέλεσαν, τά τ' ἄλλα οἷς ἀπερύκειν
ἔμελλον αὐτούς, εἰ πειραθεῖεν πάλιν τειχομαχεῖν,
πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα εὐτρεπιζόμενοι. τῇ δ' ἔξῆς αἱ
τε προσβολαὶ πάλιν ἐγίνοντο καὶ ὁ χάραξ διεσπάτο
κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη· καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξιόν-
των κατὰ συστροφὰς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἔξεκρούσθη-
σαν οἱ Αἰκανοί, πολλάκις δ' ἀνεκόπησαν ὑπ' ἐκείνων
3 οἱ θρασύτερον ἐπεξιόντες. καὶ τοῦτο δι' ὅλης τῆς
ἡμέρας ἐγίνετο· ἐνθα δὲ τε ὑπατος Ῥωμαίων σαυνίω

they had it in their power to save their lives by giving up their arms—for the enemy urged them to do so and were extremely anxious to take prisoner a thousand of the bravest Romans, in order to obtain through them an honourable peace—nevertheless scorned the enemy and exhorting one another to do nothing unworthy of the commonwealth, all died fighting after they had killed many of the enemy.

LXIV. When these men had been slain, the Aequians, elated by their success, advanced to the camp of the Romans, bearing aloft, fixed to their spears, the heads of Publius and the other prominent men, hoping to terrify the troops inside by this spectacle and compel them to surrender to them their arms. But though the Romans were indeed somewhat stirred by compassion at the fate of the slain and lamented their misfortune, yet they were inspired with a double boldness for the struggle and with a noble passion either to conquer or to die like their comrades rather than fall into the enemy's hands. That night, accordingly, while the enemy bivouacked beside their camp, the Romans went without sleep as they repaired the damaged portions of their camp and made ready the other means, of many and various kinds, with which to ward off the enemy if they should attempt again to breach their walls. The next day the assaults were renewed and the rampart was torn apart at many points. Often the Aequians were repulsed by sorties of massed troops from the camp, and often the men who rushed out too recklessly were beaten back by the Aequians. And this kept happening all day long. In these encounters the Roman consul was wounded in the thigh by a javelin

¹ *oi* B : om. R.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

διὰ τοῦ θυρεοῦ διαπερούηθεὶς τιτρώσκεται τὸν μηρόν, καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ὅσοι περὶ αὐτὸν ἐμάχοντο· ἥδη δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπειρηκόσιν ἀπροσδόκητος ἐπιφαίνεται περὶ δεῖλην ὄψιαν προσιών Κοῖντιος, ἄγων τὴν ἐθελούσιον ἐπικουρίαν τῶν ἀκμαιοτάτων, οὓς ἰδόντες οἱ πολέμιοι προσιόντας ἀνέστρεφον ἀφέντες τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀτελῆ· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπεξελθόντες αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσι τοὺς 4 ὑστερίζοντας ἐφόνευον. οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ πολύν γε¹ χρόνον ἐδίωξαν ἀσθενεῖς ὄντες οἱ πολλοὶ ὑπὸ τραυμάτων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τάχους ἀνέστρεψαν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διὰ φυλακῆς εἰχον ἔκάτεροι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς μένοντες² ἐν ταῖς παρεμβολαῖς ἄχρι πολλοῦ.

LXV. "Ἐπειτα Αἰκανῶν τε καὶ Οὔολούσκων ἑτέρα δύναμις καλὸν ὑπολαμβάνουσα καιρὸν ἔχειν προνομεῦσαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐξεστρατευμένης αὐτῶν τῆς κρατίστης δυνάμεως, ἐξῆλθε νυκτός· καὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα εἰς τὴν προσωτάτω χώραν, ἔνθα τοῖς γεωργοῖς δέος οὐδὲν εἶναι ἐδόκει, πολλῶν γίνονται χρημάτων καὶ σωμάτων ἐγκρατεῖς. οὐ μὴν καλάς γε οὐδ' εὐτυχεῖς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἐσχον ἐκεῦθεν ἀπαλλαγάς.³ ὁ γὰρ ἑτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Ποστόμιος ἄγων τὴν συναχθεῖσαν ἐπικουρίαν τοῖς ἐν τῷ χάρακι πολεμουμένοις, ὡς ἔμαθε τὰ γινόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἐπιφαίνεται αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνελπίστου. 3 οἱ δ' οὗτε κατεπλάγησαν οὕτ' ἐδεισαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλ' ἀποθέμενοι σχολῆ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὰ λάφυρα εἰς ἐν χωρίον ἐχυρὸν καὶ φυλακὴν τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις καταλιπόντες οἱ λοιποὶ συντεταγμένοι χωροῦσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὅμόσε· καὶ συμπεσόντες ἄξια λόγου ἔργα ἀπεδείκνυντο, ὀλίγοι

¹ γε B : om. R.

² Sylburg : μένοντας O.

that pierced his shield ; wounded also were many other persons of distinction who fought at his side. At last, when the Romans had reached exhaustion, Quintius unexpectedly appeared in the late afternoon with his reinforcement of volunteers composed of the choicest troops. When the enemy saw these approaching, they turned back, leaving the siege uncompleted ; and the Romans, sallying out against them as they withdrew, set about slaying the laggards. They did not pursue them for long, however, weakened as most of them were by their wounds, but speedily returned. After this both sides acted upon the defensive, remaining a long time in their camps.

LXV. Later another force of Aequians and Volscians, thinking they now had a fine opportunity to plunder the Romans' country while their best troops were in the field, set out in the night ; and invading the remotest part of the land, where the husbandmen thought there was nothing to fear, they gained possession of much booty and many captives. But in the end their return from there proved neither glorious nor fortunate. For the other consul, Postumius, who was bringing the reinforcements he had got together for the relief of the Romans besieged in their camp, when he learned what the enemy were doing, appeared before them unexpectedly. They were neither astonished nor terrified at his approach, but when they had leisurely deposited their baggage and booty in a single strong place and left a sufficient guard to defend it, the rest marched in good order to meet the Romans. And when they had joined combat, they performed notable deeds, though they

³ ἀπαλλαγάς Cmg, Reiske : ἀπαλλαγέντες O.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

μὲν πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενοι (συνέρρεον γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συχνοὶ ηδη διεσκεδασμένοι¹), ψιλῇ δ'² ὄπλίσει πρὸς ἄνδρας ὅλα τὰ σώματα ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, ἐποίησάν τε πολλοὺς τῶν Ἡρωμαίων νεκροὺς καὶ μικροῦ ἐδέησαν ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῆ καταληφθέντες τρόπαια τῶν ἐλθόντων ἐπὶ σφᾶς 4 αὐτοὺς ἀναστῆσαι. ἀλλ' ὅ γε ὑπατος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἡρωμαίων ἵππεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι, ἀχαλινώτοις ἐπελάσαντες³ τοῖς ἵπποις κατὰ τὸ καρτερώτατόν τε καὶ ἄριστα μαχόμενον αὐτῶν μέρος,⁴ διασπώσι τὴν τάξιν καὶ καταβάλλουσι συχνούς. διαφθαρέντων δὲ τῶν προμάχων καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ δύναμις ἀποτραπεῖσα ἐνέκλινεν εἰς φυγὴν, οἵ τε φυλάττοντες τὰς ἀποσκευὰς μεθέμενοι αὐτῶν ἀπιόντες ὥχοντο ἀνὰ τὰ πλησίον ὅρη. κατ' αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν τὸν ἀγῶνα ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν διεφθάρησαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ φυγῇ πάνυ πολλοί, χώρας τε ἄπειροι ὄντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἡρωμαίων ἵππου διωκόμενοι.

LXVI. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο χρόνῳ, πεπυσμένος ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Σερούιος ἐπὶ βοήθειαν αὐτῷ προσιόντα τὸν συνύπατον, δείσας μὴ ὑπαντήσωσιν αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ διακλείσωσι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄδοῦ, περισπᾶν αὐτοὺς διενοεῖτο προσβολὰς 2 ποιούμενος τῷ χάρακι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ φθάσαντες αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐπειδὴ ἔγνωσαν τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν σφετέρων, ἦν ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ περισωθέντες ἐκ τῆς προνομῆς, λύσαντες τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ νυκτὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην⁵ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπῆραν, οὐχ 3 ἅπαντα πεπραχότες ὅσα ἐβούλοντο. χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν τε ταῖς μάχαις καὶ κατὰ τὰς

¹ ηδη διεσκεδασμένοι AC : om. B.

² δ' Cary : om. O, Jacoby.

fought few against many—for large numbers came streaming in to oppose them from their farms, to which they had earlier scattered—and lightly-armed against men whose bodies were entirely protected. They killed many of the Romans and, though intercepted in a foreign land, came very near erecting trophies over those who had come to attack them. But the consul and the Roman horsemen who were with him, all chosen men, charging with their horses unbridled that part of the enemy which was firmest and fought best, broke their ranks and killed a goodly number. When those in the front line had been slain, the rest of the army gave way and fled; and the men appointed to guard the baggage abandoned it and made off by way of the near-by mountains. In the action itself only a few of them were slain, but very many in the rout, as they were both unacquainted with the country and pursued by the Roman horse.

LXVI. While these things were occurring, the other consul, Servius, being informed that his colleague was coming to his assistance and fearing that the enemy might go out to meet him and prevent him from getting through to him, planned to divert them from this purpose by delivering attacks upon their camp. But the enemy forestalled him; for as soon as they learned of the disaster that had befallen their forces, the report being brought by those who had survived the pillaging expedition, they broke camp the first night after the battle and retired to their city without having accomplished all that they desired. For, besides those who had lost their lives in the battles and the pillaging expeditions, they lost

³ Hudson : πελάσαντες O.

⁴ μέρος B : om. R.

⁵ μετὰ τὴν μάχην B : om. R.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

προνομὰς τοὺς ὑστερήσαντας ἐν τῇ τότε φυγῇ πολλῷ πλείους τῶν προτέρων ἀπέβαλον. οἱ γὰρ ὑπὸ καμάτου τε καὶ τραυμάτων βαρυνόμενοι σχολῆς προβαίνοντες ἐγκαταλιπόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν μελῶν ἔπιπτον, μάλιστα δὲ περὶ τὰ νάματα καὶ ποταμοὺς ὑπὸ δύψης φλεγόμενοι· οὓς οἱ ‘Ρωμαίων ἵππεῖς 4 καταλαμβάνοντες ἐφόνευνον. οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ ‘Ρωμαῖοι πάντα ἐκ τοῦ τότε ἀγῶνος εὐτυχηκότες ἀνέστρεψαν· ἄνδρας μὲν γὰρ¹ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολωλέκεσαν καὶ πρεσβευτὴν ἀπάντων λαμπρότατον γενόμενον ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι· νίκην δ’ οὐδεμιᾶς ἤτονα τῇ πόλει φέροντες ἀνέστρεψαν. ταῦτ’ ἐπ’ ἔκείνων τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπράχθη.

LXVII. Τῷ δὲ κατόπιν ἔτει Λευκίου Αἰβουτίου² καὶ Ποπλίου Σερουϊλίου³ Πρίσκου παρειληφότων τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲν οὔτε κατὰ πολέμους ἔργον ἀπεδείξαντο ‘Ρωμαῖοι λόγου ἄξιον οὔτε πολιτικόν, ὑπὸ νόσου κακωθέντες ὡς οὕπω πρότερον λοιμικῆς· ἦ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἵππων τε φορβάδων καὶ βοῶν ἀγέλαις προσῆλθεν, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων εἰς τε αἰπόλια καὶ πούμνας κατέσκηψε, καὶ διέφθειρεν ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντα τὰ τετράποδα· ἔπειτα τῶν νομέων τε καὶ γεωργῶν ἤφατο, καὶ διελθοῦσα διὰ πάσης τῆς 2 χώρας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπεσε. θεραπόντων μὲν οὖν καὶ θητῶν καὶ τοῦ πένητος ὅχλου πλῆθος ὅσον διέφθειρεν οὐ ράδιον ἦν εὑρεῖν. κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν⁴ γὰρ ἐφ’ ἀμάξαις σωρηδὸν οἱ θυήσκοντες ἀπεκομίζοντο, τελευτῶντες δ’⁵ ὅν ἐλάχιστος ἦν λόγος,⁶ εἰς τὸ τοῦ παραρρέοντος ποταμοῦ ρεῖθρον ὥθοῦντο.

¹ γὰρ B : om. R.

³ Sylburg : σερουϊλίου O.

⁵ δὲ Sylburg : τε O.

² Sylburg : φαβίου O.

⁴ μὲν Reiske : τε O.

many more stragglers in their retreat at this time than on the former occasion. For those who were overcome by fatigue and their wounds marched slowly, and when their limbs failed them, they fell down, particularly at the fountains and rivers, as they were parched with thirst ; and the Roman horse, overtaking them, put them to the sword. Nor did the Romans, either, return home completely successful from this campaign ; for they had lost many brave men in the several actions and a legate who had distinguished himself above all the rest in the combat ; but they did return with a victory second to none for the commonwealth. These were the achievements of that consulship.

LXVII. The next year,¹ when Lucius Aebutius and Publius Servilius Priscus had assumed office, the Romans accomplished nothing worthy of mention either in war or at home, as they were afflicted by a pestilence more severely than ever before. It first attacked the studs of mares and herds of cattle and then seized upon the flocks of goats and sheep and destroyed almost all the live-stock. After that it fell upon the herdsmen and husbandmen, and having spread through the whole country, it invaded the city. It was no easy matter to discover the number of servants, labourers and poor people who were carried off by it. For at first the dead bodies were carried away heaped up in carts and at last the persons of least account were shoved into the river that flows past the city. Of the senate the fourth

¹ For chaps. 67 f. *cf.* Livy iii. 6 f.

⁶ λόγος Cobet : ὁ λόγος O, Jacoby.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου τὸ τέταρτον
 μέρος συνελογίσθη διεφθαρμένον, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν οἱ τε
 ὑπατοὶ ἀμφότεροι καὶ τῶν δημάρχων οἱ πλείους.
 3 ἥρξατο μὲν οὖν ἡ νόσος περὶ τὰς καλάνδας τοῦ
 Σεπτεμβρίου μηνός, διέμεινε δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖ-
 νον ὅλον, ἅπασαν ὁμοίως καταλαμβάνουσα καὶ δι-
 εργαζομένη φύσιν τε καὶ ἡλικίαν. γενομένης δὲ
 τοῖς πλησιοχώροις γνώσεως τῶν κατεχόντων τὴν
 Ἀράβην κακῶν, καλὸν ἡγησάμενοι καιρὸν ἔχειν¹
 Αἰκανοί τε καὶ Οὐδοῦνσκοι καταλῦσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν
 αὐτῆς, συνθήκας τε καὶ ὄρκους ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς
 ἀλλήλους περὶ συμμαχίας· καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι
 τὰ εἰς πολιορκίαν ἐπιτήδεια, ὡς εἶχον ἀμφότεροι
 4 τάχους, ἔξηγον τὰς δυνάμεις. ἵνα δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν
 συμμάχων ἀφέλοιντο τῆς Ἀράβης ἐπικουρίαν εἰς
 τὴν Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων γῆν πρῶτον ἐνέβαλον.
 ἀφικομένης δὲ πρεσβείας ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀφ' ἐκα-
 τέρου τῶν πολεμουμένων ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ συμμαχίας
 παράκλησιν ὁ μὲν ἔτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Λεύκιος
 Αἰβούτιος ἐκείνην ἔτυχε τὴν ἡμέραν τεθυηκώς,
 Πόπλιος δὲ Σερουνίλιος ἔγγὺς ἦν τοῦ θανάτου· ὃς
 5 ἔτι ὀλίγον ἐμπνέων συνεκάλει τὴν βουλὴν. τῶν δ'
 οἱ πλείους ἡμιθνῆτες ἐπὶ κλινιδίων κομισθέντες καὶ
 συνεδρεύσαντες ἀπεκρίναντο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν² ἀγ-
 γέλλειν τοῖς σφετέροις ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀρετῆς
 τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῖς ἐπι-
 τρέπει μέχρις ἂν ὁ ὑπατος ῥάτσῃ καὶ ἡ συναγωνιου-
 6 μένη δύναμις αὐτοῖς συναχθῇ. ταῦτα Ἀρμαίων
 ἀποκριναμένων Λατίνοι μὲν ὅσα ἡδυνήθησαν ἐκ τῶν
 ἀγρῶν εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἀνασκευασάμενοι φυλακὴν

¹ ἔχειν added by Cobet, εἶναι by Kiessling, Jacoby.

² Naber : παροῦσιν Ο, Jacoby.

part was estimated to have perished, including not only both consuls but also most of the tribunes.¹ The pestilence began about the calends of September and continued all that year, seizing and destroying people without distinction of sex or age. When the neighbouring peoples learned of the evils that were afflicting Rome, the Aequians and the Volscians, thinking they had an excellent opportunity to overthrow her supremacy, concluded a treaty of alliance with each other, confirmed by oaths ; and after making the preparations necessary for a siege, both led out their forces as speedily as possible. In order to deprive Rome of the assistance of her allies, they first invaded the territories of the Latins and the Hernicans. When envoys from the two nations which were attacked came to the senate to beg assistance, it chanced that one of the consuls, Lucius Aebutius, had died that very day, while Publius Servilius was at the point of death. Though he could barely breathe, he convened the senate, of whom the larger part were brought in half dead in litters ; and after deliberating, they instructed the envoys to report to their countrymen that the senate gave them leave to repulse the enemy by their own courage till the consul should recover and the army that was to participate with them in the conflict should be assembled. When the Romans had given this answer, the Latins removed everything they could out of the country into their cities, and keeping their walls under

¹ It was not until the second century b.c. that the tribunes could become senators, and then only after the expiration of their term of office. They had been allowed, however, from an early date to attend meetings of the senate, and this is probably the explanation of the careless form of statement here used.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐποιοῦντο τῶν τειχῶν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα περιεώρων ἀπολλύμενα. Ἐρνικες δὲ δυσανασχετοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ λύμῃ καὶ διαρπαγῇ τῶν ἀγρῶν, ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα ἔξηλθον. ἀγωνισάμενοι δὲ λαμπρῶς καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποβαλόντες τῶν σφετέρων, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλείους ἀποκτείναντες τῶν πολεμίων, ἐκβιασθέντες εἰς τὰ τείχη κατέφυγον, καὶ οὐκέτι μάχης ἐπειρώντο.

LXVIII. Αἰκανοὶ δὲ καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι προνομεύσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀδεῶς ἐπὶ τοὺς Τυσκλανῶν ἀγροὺς ἀφίκοντο. διαρπάσαντες δὲ καὶ τούτους οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου παρῆσαν εἰς τοὺς Γαβίνων² ὄρους. ἐλάσαντες δὲ καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἀδεῶς 2 τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀράμην ἀφίκνοῦντο. ἐθορύβησαν μὲν οὖν ἵκανῶς τὴν πόλιν, οὐ μὴν κρατῆσαι γε αὐτῆς ἡδυνήθησαν· ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἔξασθενοῦντες³ οἱ Ἀράμαιοι τὰ σώματα καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀπολωλέκότες ἀμφοτέρους (καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σερουῆλιος ἐτεθνήκει νεωστὶ), καθοπλισάμενοι παρὰ δύναμιν τοῦς τείχεσιν ἐπέστησαν, τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς πόλεως ὃντος ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ὅσος Ἀθηναίων τοῦ ἄστεος ὁ κύκλος· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ λόφοις κείμενα καὶ πέτραις ἀποτόμοις ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐστιν⁴ ὠχυρωμένα τῆς φύσεως καὶ ὀλίγης δεόμενα φυλακῆς· τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Τεβέριος⁵ τετειχισμένα ποταμοῦ, οὗ τὸ μὲν εὔρος ἐστι τεττάρων πλέθρων μάλιστα, βάθος δ' οἶνον τε ναυσὶ πλεῦσθαι μεγάλαις, τὸ δὲ ρεῦμα εἴπερ⁶ τι καὶ ἄλλο δέξῃ καὶ δίνας ἐργαζόμενον μεγάλας· ὃν οὐκ ἔνεστι πεζοῖς διελθεῖν εἰ μὴ κατὰ γέφυραν, ἢ ἦν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ μία ξυλόφρακτος, ἥν ἔλυον ἐν τοῖς

¹ μὲν B : om. R.

² Kiessling : σαβίνων O.

³ ἔξασθενοῦντες B : ἀσθενοῦντες R.

guard, permitted everything else to be destroyed. But the Hernicans, resenting the ruin and desolation of their lands, took up their arms and marched out. And though they fought brilliantly and, while losing many of their own men, slew many more of the enemy, they were forced to take refuge inside their walls and no longer risked an engagement.

LXVIII. When the Aequians and Volscians had laid waste the Hernicans' country, they came unopposed to the lands of the Tusculans. And having plundered these also, none offering to defend them, they arrived at the borders of the Gabini. Then, passing through their territory also without opposition, they advanced upon Rome. They caused the city enough alarm, it is true, yet they could not make themselves masters of it ; on the contrary, the Romans, though they were utterly weakened in body and had lost both consuls—for Servilius had recently died—armed themselves beyond their strength and manned the walls, the circuit of which was at that time of the same extent as that of Athens. Some sections of the walls, standing on hills and sheer cliffs, have been fortified by Nature herself and require but a small garrison ; others are protected by the river Tiber, the breadth of which is about four hundred feet and the depth capable of carrying large ships, while its current is as rapid as that of any river and forms great eddies. There is no crossing it on foot except by means of a bridge, and there was at that time only one bridge, constructed of timber, and this they removed in time

⁴ ἐστιν added by Reiske.

⁵ τεβέριος Ba : τεβέρεως Bb, τιβέρεως A.

⁶ Hertlein : ὥσπερ O, Jacoby.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

3 πολέμοις. ἐν δὲ χωρίον, ὃ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιμαχώτατόν ἐστιν, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰσκυλίνων¹ καλουμένων πυλῶν μέχρι τῶν Κολλίνων, χειροποιήτως ἐστὶν ὄχυρόν. τάφρος τε γὰρ ὁρώρυκται πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλάτος ἥ βραχυτάτη μείζων ἑκατὸν ποδῶν, καὶ βάθος ἐστὶν αὐτῆς² τριακοντάπουν· τεῖχος δ' ὑπερανέστηκε τῆς τάφρου χώματι προσεχόμενον³ ἔνδοθεν ὑψηλῷ καὶ πλατεῖ, οὗν μήτε κριοῖς 4 κατασεισθῆναι μήτε ὑπορυττομένων τῶν θεμελίων ἀνατραπῆναι. τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐπτὰ μέν ἐστι μάλιστα ἐπὶ μῆκος σταδίων, πεντήκοντα δὲ ποδῶν ἐπὶ πλάτος· ἐν ᾧ τότε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τεταγμένοι κατὰ πλῆθος ἀνεῖρξαν τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἔφοδον, οὕτε χελώνας χωστρίδας εἰδότων κατασκευάζειν τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων οὕτε τὰς καλουμένας ἐλεπόλεις μηχανάς.⁴ οἱ μὲν δὴ πολέμιοι ἀπογνόντες τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἄλωσιν ἀπήεσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ δηώσαντες τὴν χώραν ὅσην διεξῆλθον ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις.

LXIX. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους ἀντιβασιλεῦς ἐλόμενοι τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἔνεκα, ὃ ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν ὅταν ἀναρχία κατάσχῃ τὴν πόλιν, ὑπάτους ἀπέδειξαν Λεύκιον Λοκρήτιον καὶ Τίτον Οὐετούριον Γέμινον.⁵ ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς ἥ τε νόσος ἐπαύσατο καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ ἐγκλήματα ἀναβολῆς

¹ Ἰσκυλίνων Bb : εἰσκυλίνων AC, Αἰσκυλίνων Kiessling, Jacoby.

² Steph. : αὐτοῦ ABC.

³ προσεχόμενον B : συνεχόμενον R, προσκεχωμένον Reiske.

⁴ μηχανάς deleted by Cobet.

⁵ Sylburg : γεμίνιον AB.

¹ Testudines.

of war. One section, which is the most vulnerable part of the city, extending from the Esquiline gate, as it is called, to the Colline, is strengthened artificially. For there is a ditch excavated in front of it more than one hundred feet in breadth where it is narrowest, and thirty in depth; and above this ditch rises a wall supported on the inside by an earthen rampart so high and broad that it can neither be shaken by battering rams nor thrown down by undermining the foundations. This section is about seven stades in length and fifty feet in breadth. Here the Romans were drawn up at that time in force and checked the enemy's assault; for the men of that day were unacquainted with the building of either sheds¹ to protect the men filling up ditches or the engines called *helepoleis*.² The enemy, therefore, despairing of taking the city, retired from the walls, and after laying waste all the country through which they marched, led their forces home.

LXIX. The Romans,³ after choosing *interreges*,⁴ as they are called, to preside at the election of magistrates—a course they are accustomed to take whenever a state of “anarchy,” or lack of a regular government, occurs—elected Lucius Lucretius and Titus Veturius Geminus consuls. In their consulship the pestilence ceased and all civil complaints, both

² The *helepolis* (“taker of cities”) was a huge siege tower, several stories in height and mounted on wheels so that it could be readily moved up close to the walls of the beleaguered city. Originally an adjective, the name usually appears as a noun; hence Cobet would omit the noun *μηχανάς* here.

³ For chaps. 69–71 cf. Livy iii. 8, 1–10, 4.

⁴ Cf. ii. 57. In this single instance Dionysius uses the term ἀντιβασιλές instead of the usual μετοβασιλές.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἔτυχε, τά τε ἔδια καὶ τὰ κοινά, πειραθέντος μὲν αὐθις τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας πολίτευμα κινεῦν ἐνὸς τῶν δημάρχων Σέξτου Τιτίου,¹ κωλύσαντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ εἰς ἐπιτηδειοτέρους ὑπερθεμένου και-
 2 ρούς. προθυμία τε πολλὴ πᾶσιν ἐνέπεσε τιμωρήσα-
 σθαι τοὺς ἐπιστρατεύσαντας τῇ πόλει κατὰ τὸν τῆς
 νόσου καιρόν· καὶ αὐτίκα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης
 καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸν πόλεμον ἐπικυρώσαντος κατ-
 ἔγραφον² τὰς δυνάμεις, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἔχοντων στρα-
 τεύσιμον ἡλικίαν, οὐδ' εἴ τινα ὁ νόμος ἀπέλυεν,
 ἀξιοῦντος ἐκείνης ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς στρατείας·
 νεμηθείσης δὲ τριχῇ τῆς δυνάμεως μία μὲν ὑπ-
 ελείφθη φυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν, ἡς ἡγεῖτο Κόιντος
 Φούριος ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός· αἱ δὲ δύο σὺν τοῖς ὑπάτοις
 3 ἐξῆλθον ἐπὶ τε Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους. τὸ δ'
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔτυχεν ἥδη
 γεγονός. ἡ μὲν γὰρ κρατίστη δύναμις ἀφ' ἑκατέ-
 ρου τῶν ἔθνων συνελθοῦσα ὑπαίθριος ἦν ὑπὸ δυσὶν
 ἡγεμόσι, καὶ ἔμελλεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρνίκων γῆς, ἐν ᾧ
 τότε ἦν, ἀρξαμένη πᾶσαν ἐπελεύσεσθαι τὴν Ῥω-
 μαίων ὑπῆκοον. ἡ δ' ἥπτον ἐκείνης χρησίμη τὰ
 οἰκεῖα πολίσματα ὑπελείφθη φυλάττειν, μή τις
 4 ἔφοδος αἰφνίδιος πολεμίων ἐπ' αὐτὰ γένηται. πρὸς
 ταῦτα βουλευομένοις τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτοις ἔδο-
 κει κράτιστον³ εἶναι ταῦς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν πρῶτον⁴
 ἐπιχειρεῖν, κατὰ τοιόνδε τινὰ λογισμόν, ὅτι διαλυ-
 θήσεται τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν στράτευμα εἰ πύθοιντο
 ἔκαστοι τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὅντα κινδύνοις,
 καὶ πολὺ κρείττον ἡγήσεται⁵ τὰ σφέτερα σώζειν

¹ Gelenius : τίτου Ο.

² Cobet : κατεγράφοντο Ο, Jacoby.

³ Cobet : κράτιστα Ο.

⁴ πρῶτον Β : om. R.

public and private, were postponed. Sextus Titius, one of the tribunes, endeavoured, it is true, to revive the measure for the allotment of land, but the populace would not permit it and deferred the matter to more suitable times. A great eagerness came upon all to take revenge on those who had made expeditions against the city on the occasion of the pestilence. And the senate having straightway voted for war and the people having confirmed the decree, they proceeded to enrol their forces ; and no man who was of military age, not even if the law exempted him, wished to be left out of the expedition. The army having been divided into three bodies, one of them, commanded by Quintus Fabius,¹ an ex-consul, was left to defend the city, while the other two marched out with the consuls against the Aequians and the Volscians. This same course had also been taken already by the enemy. For their best army, assembled from both nations, was in the field under two commanders, and intended to begin with the territory of the Hernicans, in which they were then encamped, and to proceed against all the territory that was subject to the Romans ; their less useful forces were left to guard their towns, lest some sudden attack might be made upon them by enemies. In view of this situation the Roman consuls thought it best to attack their foes' cities first ; for they reasoned to this effect, that the allied army would fall apart if each of the two nations learned that their own possessions were in the direst peril, and that they would think it much more important to save their own

¹ Livy calls him Q. Fabius.

⁵ Kiessling : ἡγήσεσθαι Ο.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἢ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων φθείρειν. Λοκρήτιος μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Αἴκανῶν ἐνέβαλεν, Οὔετούριος δ' εἰς τὴν Οὐολούσκων. Αἴκανοὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ ἔξω πάντα ἀπολλύμενα περιορώντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ φρούρια εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ.

LXX. Οὐολούσκοι δ' ὑπό τε θράσους καὶ αὐθαδείας προαχθέντες τοῦ τε Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατεύματος ὡς οὐκ ἀξιομάχου ὄντος πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῶν πλῆθος συμφέρεσθαι καταφρονήσαντες, ἐξῆλθον ἀγωνιούμενοι περὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πλησίον τοῦ Οὔετουρίου κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. οἷα δὲ φιλεῖ πάσχειν στρατιὰ νεοσύλλεκτος ἔκ τε πολιτικοῦ καὶ γεωργικοῦ πρὸς καιρὸν συνελθόντος ὅχλου συναχθεῖσα, ἐν ᾧ πολὺ καὶ τὸ ἄνοπλον ἦν καὶ κινδύνων ἅπειρον, οὐδέ τοις χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐθάρσησεν· ἀλλ' ἄμα τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφόδῳ διαταραχθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ οὕτε ἀλαλαγμὸν οὕθ' ὅπλων κτύπον ἀνασχόμενοι, προτροπάδην ἔφευγον εἰς τὰ τείχη· ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς στενοχωρίαις τῶν ὁδῶν καταληφθέντας ἀποθανεῖν, πολλῷ δὲ πλείους παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις ὠθουμένους τῶν ἵππεων ἐπιδιωκόντων.
3 Οὐολούσκοι μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ χρησάμενοι τῇ συμφορᾷ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡτιῶντο τῆς ἀφροσύνης, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι παρακινδυνεύειν ἐπειρῶντο. οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ στρατιὰς Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ Αἴκανῶν ἔχοντες ἥγεμόνες, πυνθανόμενοι τὰ οἰκεῖα πολεμούμενα, γενναῖον τι καὶ οὗτοι δρᾶν ἐβουλεύσαντο, ἀναστάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἐρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἄγειν, ὡς εἶχον ὀργῆς τε καὶ τάχους, τὸν στρατόν, κατὰ τοιάνδε τινὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ δόξαν, ὅτι

possessions than to destroy those of the enemy. Lucretius accordingly invaded the country of the Aequians and Veturius that of the Volscians. The Aequians, for their part, permitted everything outside their walls to be destroyed, but guarded their city and their fortresses.

LXX. The Volscians, however, inspired by rashness and arrogance and despising the Roman army as inadequate to cope with their own large numbers, came out to fight in defence of their land and encamped near Veturius. But, as usually happens with an army of fresh levies composed of a crowd of both townsmen and farmers got together for the occasion, of which many are not only unarmed but also unacquainted with danger, the Volscian army dared not so much as encounter the enemy ; but the greater part of them, thrown into confusion at the first onset of the Romans and unable to endure either their war-cry or the clash of their arms, fled precipitately inside the walls, with the result that many of them perished when overtaken in the narrow parts of the roads and many more when they were crowding about the gates as the cavalry pursued them. The Volscians, therefore, having met with this disaster, reproached themselves for their folly and were unwilling to hazard another engagement. But the generals who commanded the armies of the Volscians and Aequians in the field, when they heard that their possessions were being attacked, resolved to perform some brave action on their part also, namely, to take their army out of the country of the Hernicans and Latins and lead it against Rome in their present mood of anger and haste. For they too had some such thought as this in mind, that they should succeed in one or

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

δυεῖν ἔργων καλῶν θάτερον αὐτοῖς κατορθῶσαι
ὑπάρξει, ἢ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφύλακτον οὖσαν ἐλεῖν ἢ
τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν χώρας ἐκβαλεῖν, ὡς
δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναγκασθησομένων πολεμουμένη
4 τῇ πατρίδι βοηθεῖν. ταῦτα διανοηθέντες ἥγον τὴν
στρατιὰν ἐπιταχύνοντες, ἵν' ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου τῇ
πόλει συμμίξαντες εὐθὺς ἔργουν ἔχωνται.

LXXI. Ἀφικόμενοί τε μέχρι Τύσκλου πόλεως,
μαθόντες τὸν περίβολον τῆς Ῥώμης ὅλον πληθύ-
οντα ὅπλων καὶ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν τέτταρας ἔξεστρα-
τευμένας σπείρας, ἀνδρῶν ἔξακοσίων ἑκάστην, τῆς
μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὄδοιν ἀπετράποντο, τὴν δ'
ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει χώραν, ἦν ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ παρέλιπον
2 εἰσβολῆ, ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδήσουν. ἐπιφανέντος δ'
αὐτοῖς θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Λευκίου Λοκρητίου
καὶ θεμένου τὴν παρεμβολὴν οὐ πρόσω, καλὸν
ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι καιρόν, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τῷ Λοκρη-
τίῳ τὴν ἑτέραν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν σύμμαχον, ἣς
Οὐετούριος ἥγεῖτο, συνάψαι μάχην, θέμενοι τὰς
ἀποσκευὰς ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς καὶ δύο σπείρας ἐπ'
αὐταῖς καταλιπόντες, οἱ λοιποὶ προῆλθον εἰς τὸ πε-
δίον· καὶ συμβαλόντες τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ
3 κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐγίνοντο μέχρι πολλοῦ. μαθόντες
δ' ἐκ τῶν κατὰ νότου φρουρῶν τινες καταβαί-
νουσαν ὑπὲρ ὅχθου στρατιὰν ὑπέλαβον ἥκειν τὸν
ἑτερον τῶν ὑπάτων ἄγοντα τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν,
καὶ δείσαντες μὴ κυκλωθεῖν ὑπ' ἀμφοῦ, οὐκέτι
διέμειναν, ἀλλ' εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
ἀγῶνι οἱ τε ἥγεμόνες αὐτῶν ἀμφότεροι γενναίων ἄν-
δρῶν ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενοι πίπτουσι καὶ ἄλλοι πολ-
λοὶ μαχόμενοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοί· οἱ δὲ φυγόντες
ἐκ τῆς μάχης εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἔκαστοι πατρίδας

the other of two glorious achievements—either to take Rome, if it was unguarded, or to drive the enemy out of their own territory, since the consuls would be forced to hasten to the relief of their own country when it was attacked. Having come to this decision, they made a forced march, in order that they might fall upon the city unexpectedly and immediately get to work.

LXXI. Having got as far as the city of Tusculum and learning that the whole circuit of Rome was lined with armed men and that four cohorts of six hundred men each were encamped before the gates, they abandoned their march on Rome ; and encamping, they laid waste the district close to the city, which they had left untouched on their former incursion. But when one of the consuls, Lucius Lucretius, appeared and made camp not far from them, they thought this an excellent opportunity to join battle before the other army of the Romans, commanded by Veturius, should come to the assistance of Lucretius ; and placing their baggage on a certain hill and leaving two cohorts to defend it, the rest advanced into the plain. Then they engaged the Romans and acquitted themselves bravely in the conflict for a long time ; but some of them, being informed by the guards in the rear that an army was coming down over a hill, assumed that the other consul had arrived with the forces under his command, and fearing to be hemmed in between the two armies, they no longer stood their ground, but turned to flight. In this action both their generals fell after performing the deeds of valiant men, and likewise many other brave men fighting at their side. Those who escaped from the battle scattered and every man retired to his own

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

4 σκεδασθέντες ἀνεχώρησαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὴν
ἀδειαν λαβὼν ὁ Λοκρήτιος ἔφθειρε τὴν Αἰκανῶν
γῆν, καὶ Οὐετούριος τὴν Οὐόλούσκων, ἥως ὁ τῶν
ἀρχαιρεσίων ἐπέστη καιρός. τότε δ' ἀναστήσαντες
τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ κατήγαγον
ἀμφότεροι τοὺς ἐπινικίους θριάμβους, Λοκρήτιος
μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ τεθρίππου παρεμβεβηκώς, Οὐετούριος
δὲ πεζὸς εἰσελαύνων. δύο γὰρ οὖτοι θριάμβοι
δίδονται τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ὡσπερ
ἔφην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα¹ ἔχοντες ἵσα, τῷ δὲ τὸν μὲν
ἱππικὸν εἶναι, τὸν δὲ πεζικόν, διαφέροντες.

¹ After ἄλλα the MSS. have ταμεῖα (ταμᾶ Ba), deleted by Jacoby; Kiessling emended to τίμα.

BOOK IX. 71, 4

city. As a result of this victory Lucretius laid waste the country of the Aequians in great security, and Veturius that of the Volscians, till the time for the elections was at hand. Then both of them, breaking camp, returned to Rome with their armies and celebrated the triumphs awarded for victories, Lucretius entering the city in a chariot drawn by four horses and Veturius on foot. For these two triumphs are granted to generals by the senate, as I have stated¹; they are equal in other respects, but differ in this, that one is celebrated in a chariot and the other on foot.

See v. 47, 3 f.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ
ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ
ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ
ΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΣ

I. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὀλυμπιὰς μὲν ἦν ὄγδοη κοστή,
ἥν ἐνίκα στάδιον Τορύμβας Θεσσαλός, ἄρχοντος
Ἀθήνησι Φρασικλέους· ὕπατοι δὲ ἀπεδείχθησαν ἐν
‘Ρώμῃ Πόπλιος Οὐολούμνιος καὶ Σερούιος¹ Σολ-
πίκιος Καμερῆνος.² οὗτοι στρατιὰν μὲν οὐδεμίαν
ἔξήγαγον οὕτε ἐπὶ τιμωρίας ἀναπράξει τῶν ἀδι-
κούντων σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους οὕθ’
ώς διὰ φυλακῆς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἔξοντες· τῶν δ’ ἐντὸς
τείχους κακῶν πρόνοιαν ἐποιοῦντο, μή τι δεινὸν ὁ
2 δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ συστὰς ἔξεργάσηται. ἐταράτ-
τετο γὰρ αὖθις ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἀναδιδασκό-
μενος ὅτι πολιτειῶν κρατίστη τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἐστὶν
ἥ³ ἴσηγορία, καὶ κατὰ νόμους ἡξίου διοικεῖσθαι τά

¹ Sylburg : σερούιος A.B.

² μακερῆνος B.

³ ἥ added by Grimm.

¹ For chaps. 1-4 cf. Livy iii. 10, 5-11, 5. The year was 459 B.C.

THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
BOOK X

I. The year after their consulship¹ occurred the eightieth Olympiad (the one at which Torymbas, a Thessalian, won the foot-race), Phrasicles being archon at Athens; and Publius Volumnius and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus were chosen consuls at Rome. These men led no army into the field, either to take revenge on those who had injured the Romans themselves as well as their allies or to keep guard over their possessions, but they devoted their attention to the domestic evils, fearing lest the populace might organize against the senate and work some mischief. For they were being stirred up again by the tribunes and instructed that the best of political institutions for free men is an equality of rights²; and they demanded that all business both private

² Literally *ἰσηγορία* is “equal freedom of speech”; but it seems to be used by Dionysius in the more general sense of “equal civic rights.” Other terms used by him in this Book for the same idea are *ἰσονομία* (35, 5) and *ἰσοτιμία* (30, 4).

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τε ἴδιωτικὰ καὶ τὰ δημόσια. οὕπω γὰρ τότε ἦν οὗτ' ἰσονομία παρὰ 'Ρωμαίοις οὗτ' ἵσηγορία, οὐδὲ ἐν γραφαῖς ἄπαντα τὰ δίκαια τεταγμένα· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἔταττον τοῖς δεομένοις τὰς δίκας, καὶ τὸ δικαιωθὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνων 3 τοῦτο νόμος ἦν. ὡς δ' ἐπαύσαντο μοναρχούμενοι, τοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπατεύουσιν ἀνέκειτο τά τε ἄλλα τῶν βασιλέων ἔργα καὶ ἡ τοῦ δικαίου διάγνωσις, καὶ τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ ὅτουδήτινος ἐκεῖνοι τὰ δίκαια οἱ διαιροῦντες ἦσαν.

4 τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τοῖς τρόποις¹ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀριστίνδην ἀποδεικνυμένων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀκόλουθα ἦν· κομιδῇ δ' ὀλίγα τινὰ ἐν ἱεραῖς ἦν βύβλοις ἀποκείμενα, ἃ νόμων εἶχε δύναμιν, ὥν οἱ πατρíκιοι τὴν γνῶσιν εἶχον μόνοι διὰ τὰς ἐν ἄστει διατριβάς, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἐμπορευόμενοί τε καὶ γεωργοῦντες διὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν εἰς ἄστυ καταβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὰς 5 ἀγορὰς ἀπειροι ἔτι ἦσαν. τὸ δὲ πολίτευμα τοῦτο πρῶτος μὲν ἐπείρασεν εἰσαγαγεῖν Γάιος Τερέντιος² δημαρχῶν ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἔτει, ἀτελὲς δὲ ἡ ναγκάσθη καταλιπεῖν τοῦ τε πλήθους ὄντος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδων καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπίτηδες ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ γῆ τὰς δυνάμεις κατασχόντων ἕως ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς παρέλθῃ χρόνος.

II. Τότε δ' αὐτὸ παραλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Αὐλον Οὐεργίνιον δήμαρχοι τελειώσαι ἐβούλοντο· ἵνα δὲ μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ κατὰ νόμους ἀναγκασθεῖεν

¹ Reiske : ἐπιτρόποις Ο.

² Siginus : τερέντιος ΑΒ.

¹ This, in an aristocratic state, meant inherited virtue.

and public should be carried on according to laws. For at that time there did not exist as yet among the Romans an equality either of laws or of rights, nor were all their principles of justice committed to writing ; but at first their kings had dispensed justice to those who sought it, and whatever they decreed was law. After they ceased to be governed by kings, along with the other functions of royalty that of determining what justice is devolved upon the annual consuls, and it was they who decided what was just between litigants in any matter whatsoever. These decisions as a rule conformed to the character of the magistrates, who were appointed to office on the basis of good birth.¹ A very few of them, however, were kept in sacred books and had the force of laws ; but the patricians alone were acquainted with these, because they spent their time in the capital, while the masses, who were either merchants or husbandmen and came down to the capital only for the markets at intervals of many days, were as yet unfamiliar with them. The first attempt to introduce this measure establishing an equality of rights was made by Gaius Terentius in the preceding year,² while he was tribune ; but he was forced to leave the business unfinished because the plebeians were then in the field and the consuls purposely detained the armies in the enemy's country till their term of office expired.

II. At the time in question Aulus Verginius and the other tribunes took up the measure and wished to carry it through. But in order to prevent this from happening and that the magistrates might not be compelled to conduct the government in accord-

² For § 5 cf. Livy iii. 9. Livy gives the name as C. Terentilius Harsa.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πολιτεύεσθαι, πάντα ἐπιμηχανώμενοι διετέλουν οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν οἱ πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ πόλει δυνάμενοι· βουλαί τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἐκκλησίαι συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο πεῖραι τε παντοῖαι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς κατ' ἄλλήλων, ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἄδηλον ἅπασιν ἦν ὅτι μεγάλη τις καὶ ἀνήκεστος ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς 2 φιλονεικίας ἀναστήσεται τῇ πόλει συμφορά. συνήπτετο δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς καὶ τὰ θεῖα δείματα προσγενόμενα, ὧν ἔνια οὕτ' ἐν δημοσίαις εὑρίσκετο γραφαῖς οὗτε κατ' ἄλλην φυλαττόμενα 3 μνήμην οὐδεμίαν. ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ σέλα φερόμενα καὶ πυρὸς ἀνάψεις ἐφ' ἐνὸς μένουσαι τόπου γῆς τε μυκήματα καὶ τρόμοι συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο, μορφαὶ τ' εἰδώλων ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοιαι δι' ἀέρος φερόμεναι καὶ φωναὶ ταράττουσαι διάνοιαν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πάντα ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια συνέπιπτεν, εὑρίσκετο καὶ πάλαι ποτὲ γεγονότα ἥττόν τε¹ καὶ μᾶλλον· οὐ δὲ ἄπειροί τε καὶ ἀνήκοοι ἔτι ἥσαν καὶ ἐφ' ὧ δὴ² μάλιστα ἐταράχθησαν, τοιόνδ' ἦν· νιφετὸς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατέσκηψεν εἰς γῆν πολὺς οὐ χιόνα καταφέρων, ἀλλὰ σαρκῶν θραύσματα ἐλάττῳ τε 4 καὶ μείζῳ. τούτων τὰ μὲν πολλὰ μετάρσια προσπετόμεναι πτηνῶν³ ὅσαι εἰσὶν ἀγέλαι τοῖς στόμασιν ἥρπαζον, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν⁴ γῆν ἐνεχθέντα ἐν αὐτῇ τε τῇ πόλει καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἄγρους μέχρι πολλοῦ χρόνου κείμενα διέμεινεν⁵ οὗτε χρόαν μεταβάλλοντα, οἵαν ἵσχουσι⁶ παλαιούμεναι σάρκες, οὗτε

¹ Sylburg : δὲ AB.

² Naber : δὲ B, om. R, Jacoby.

³ προσπετόμεναι πτηνῶν B : προσπετόμενα πτερῶν A.

⁴ τὴν B : om. R.

⁵ διέμεινεν added by Casaubon, ἦν by Jacoby ; Kiessling would read διέμεινεν in place of κείμενα.

ance with laws, the consuls, the senate and all the rest of the citizens of greatest influence in the commonwealth kept resorting to all manner of devices. There were many sessions of the senate and continual meetings of the assembly, and attempts of all kinds were made by the magistrates against one another ; from all of which it was manifest to everyone that some great and irreparable mischief to the commonwealth would arise out of this contention. To these human reasonings were added the terrible portents sent by the gods, some of which were neither found recorded in the public archives nor was the memory of them preserved by any other means. As for all the flashes shooting through the sky and outbursts of fire continuing in one place, the rumblings of the earth and its continual tremblings that occurred, the spectres, now of one shape and now of another, flitting through the air and voices that disturbed men's minds, and everything else of that nature which took place, all these manifestations were found to have occurred in times past as well, to either a greater or lesser degree. But a prodigy which they were unfamiliar with as yet and had never heard of, and the one which caused them the greatest terror was this : There descended upon the earth from heaven what appeared to be a heavy snowstorm, only it brought down, instead of snow, pieces of flesh, some smaller and some larger. Most of these while still in mid air were seized by flocks of birds of every kind, which flew up and snatched them in their beaks ; but those pieces which fell to the ground, both in the city itself and in the country, lay there a long time without either changing to such a colour as pieces of flesh

⁶ οἵαν ἴσχοντι Ο : οἱα πάσχοντι Casaubon.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

σηπεδόνι διαλυόμενα,¹ ωζέ τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν
 5 πονηρόν. τοῦτο τὸ τέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπιχώριοι μάντεις
 οὐχ οἷοί τ' ἡσαν συμβαλεῖν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς Σιβυλλείοις
 εὑρέθη χρησμοῖς ὅτι πολεμίων ἀλλοεθνῶν παρ-
 ελθόντων εἰς τὸ τεῖχος ἀγὼν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ
 καταλήφεται τὴν πόλιν, ἄρξει δὲ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς
 ἀλλοεθνεῖς πολέμου στάσις ἐμφύλιος, ἦν χρῆν ἀρ-
 χομένην ἔξελαύνοντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ θεοὺς
 παραιτουμένους θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς ἀποτρέψαι²
 6 τὰ δεινά· καὶ κρείττους ἔσονται³ τῶν ἔχθρῶν. ὡς
 δ' ἔξηνέχθη ταῦτ' εἰς τὸ πλῆθος, ίερὰ μὲν πρῶτον
 ἔθυσαν, οἷς ἡ τούτων ἐπιμέλεια ἀνέκειτο, θεοὺς
 ἔξακεστηρίοις τε καὶ ἀποτροπαίοις, ἔπειτα συν-
 αχθέντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον οἱ σύνεδροι παρόντων
 καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ σωτηρίας
 τῆς πόλεως ἐσκόπουν.

III. Τὸ μὲν οὖν καταλύσασθαι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 ἐγκλήματα καὶ μιᾶς χρήσασθαι γνώμῃ περὶ τῶν
 κοινῶν, ὡς ὑπετίθεντο οἱ χρησμοί, πάντες ὡμο-
 λόγουν· ὅπως δ' ἂν τοῦτο γένοιτο καὶ ἀπὸ τίνων
 ἄρξαμένων εἴκειν τοῖς ἑτέροις τὸ διάφορον παύ-
 σαιτο⁴ τὸ⁵ στασιάζον, οὐ μικρὰν αὐτοῖς παρεῖχεν
 2 ἀπορίαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπατοι καὶ οἱ τῆς βουλῆς
 προεστῶτες τοὺς εἰσφέροντας καὶ πολιτεύματα
 δημάρχους καὶ καταλύειν ἀξιοῦντας τὸν πάτριον
 τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον αἰτίους ἀπέφαινον τῆς ταρα-
 χῆς. οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν
 ἔλεγον ἀξιοῦν⁶ οὔτε ἄδικον οὔτε ἀσύμφορον εὐ-

¹ Steph. : διαλυόμεναι Ο.

² ἀποτρέψαι Β : ἀποστρέψαι R.

³ ἔσονται R : ἔσεσθαι A.

⁴ παύσαιτο Β : καὶ πῶς παύσεται Α, καὶ πῶς παύσαιτο R (?).

acquire with time, or becoming rotten, and no bad smell was given off by them. The native soothsayers were unable to conjecture the meaning of this prodigy ; but in the Sibylline books it was found that the city would be involved in a struggle to prevent the enslavement of its citizens after foreign enemies had penetrated inside the walls, and that this war against the foreigners would begin with civil strife, which they must banish from the city in its inception, invoking the gods by sacrifices and prayers to avert the dangers ; then they would gain the victory over their enemies. When this had been announced to the multitude, the priests who were in charge of such matters first sacrificed victims to the gods who remedy and avert evils ; after which the senate assembled in the senate-house, the tribunes being also present, and considered means of safeguarding and preserving the commonwealth.

III. As for putting an end to their mutual recriminations and acting with unanimity concerning public affairs, as the oracles advised, all were in agreement ; but how this was to be brought about, and which party should take the first step by yielding to the other the point at issue and thus put an end to the dissension, caused them no little embarrassment. For the consuls and the leaders of the senate declared that the tribunes who were proposing new measures and demanding the overthrow of the time-honoured constitution were to blame for the disturbance. On the other hand, the tribunes denied that they were asking for anything that was either unjust or disadvantageous when they wished to introduce a good

⁵ τὸ A : om. R, Jacoby.

⁶ ἀξιοῦν B : ἀνάξιον δρᾶν A, Jacoby.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

νομίαν¹ εἰσάγειν βουλομένους καὶ ἴσηγορίαν· τοὺς δὲ
ὑπάτους καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους αὐτίους ἔσεσθαι τῆς
στάσεως ἔλεγον ἀνομίαν αὔξοντας καὶ πλεονεξίαν
3 καὶ ζηλοῦντας τὰ τῶν τυράννων ἔθη. ταῦτα καὶ
πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια παρ’ ἑκατέρων ἐπὶ πολλὰς
ἡμέρας ἐλέγετο, καὶ προῦβαινε διὰ κενῆς ὁ χρόνος·
ἐν ᾧ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὕτε δημοσίων οὕτε ἰδίων
οὐδὲν ἐτελεῖτο. ὡς δ’ οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο τῶν προῦργου,
λόγων μὲν² ἐκείνων καὶ κατηγοριῶν ἃς ἐποιοῦντο
κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ δήμαρχοι ἀπέστησαν· συναγα-
γόντες δὲ τὸ πλήθος εἰς τὴν³ ἐκκλησίαν ὑπέσχοντο
4 τῷ δήμῳ νόμον εἰσοίσειν ὑπὲρ ὥν ἡξίουν. ἐπαινέ-
σαντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τὸν λόγον οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀνα-
βαλόμενοι⁴ τὸν παρασκευασθέντα νόμον ἀνέγνωσαν·
κεφάλαια δὲ αὐτοῦ τάδε ἦν· ἄνδρας αἱρεθῆναι δέκα
ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου συναχθείσης ἀγορᾶς ἐννόμου τοὺς
πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ φρονιμωτάτους,⁵ οὓς ἔστι
πλείστη πρόνοια τιμῆς τε καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς· τού-
τους δὲ συγγράψαντας τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων νόμους
τῶν τε κοινῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγ-
κεν· τοὺς δὲ συγγραφησομένους ὑπ’ αὐτῶν νόμους
ἔκκεισθαι⁶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ταῖς καθ’ ἔκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν
ἀποδειχθησομέναις ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις ὅρους
5 τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαίων. τοῦτον προθέντες
τὸν νόμον ἐξουσίαν ἔδοσαν τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτοῦ
κατηγορεῖν, ἀποδείξαντες τὴν τρίτην ἀγοράν. ἥσαν
δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ οὐχ οἵ φαντάτοι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συν-

¹ ἴσονομίαν Benzler in his translation, Cobet. Cf. chap. 1,
2; 15, 7.

² μὲν B : om. R.

³ τὴν deleted by Kiessling.

⁴ ἀναβαλόμενοι B : ἀναβαλλόμενοι R.

⁵ Sylburg : φρονίμους O.

⁶ Naber : κεῖσθαι O, Jacoby.

system of laws¹ and equality of rights, but declared that the consuls and the patricians would be to blame for the dissension if they increased the spirit of lawlessness and greed and emulated the usual practices of tyrants. These and many like reproaches were uttered by each side for many days and the time passed in vain ; meanwhile no business in the city, either public or private, was being brought to completion. When nothing worth while was being accomplished, the tribunes desisted from the kind of harangues and accusations they were wont to make against the senate ; and calling an assembly of the populace, they promised them to bring in a law embodying their demands. This being approved of by the populace, they read without further delay the law which they had prepared, the chief provisions of which were as follows : That ten men should be chosen by the people meeting in a legitimate assembly, men who were at once the oldest and the most prudent and had the greatest regard for honour and a good reputation ; that these men should draw up the laws concerning all matters both public and private and lay them before the people ; and that the laws to be drawn up by them should be exposed in the Forum for the benefit of the magistrates who should be chosen each year and also of persons in private station, as a code defining the mutual rights of citizens. After the tribunes had proposed this law, they gave leave to all who so desired to speak against it, appointing the third market-day for that purpose. Many in fact—and those not the least important of

¹ Cobet proposed to read *ἰσονομίαν* ("equality of laws") here in place of *εὐνομίαν*. But *εὐνομίαν* is probably justified by *ἀνομίαν* just below.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

εδρίου, πρεσβύτεροι¹ καὶ νέοι, κατήγοροι τοῦ νόμου, λόγους διεξιόντες ἐκ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ παρασκευῆς· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐγίνετο συχνάς. ⁶ ἐπειτα οἱ δήμαρχοι δυσχεραίνοντες ἐπὶ τῇ διατριβῇ τοῦ χρόνου λόγον μὲν οὐδένα ἔτι τοῖς κατηγόροις τοῦ νόμου προέθεσαν, ἡμέραν δὲ ἀποδείξαντες ἐν ᾧ κυρώσειν αὐτὸν ἔμελλον, παρεῖναι τοὺς δημότας εἰς αὐτὴν παρεκάλουν ἀθρόους, ὡς οὐκέτι ταῖς μακραῖς δημηγορίαις ἐνοχληθησομένους, ἀλλ' ἐποίσοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον κατὰ φυλάς. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑποσχόμενοι διέλυσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

IV. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ τε ὕπατοι καὶ τῶν πατρικίων οἱ πλεῖστον δυνάμενοι τραχύτερον ἥδη αὐτῶν προσιόντες καθήπτοντο, λέγοντες ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψουσιν² αὐτοῖς νόμους εἰσηγεῖσθαι καὶ τούτους ἀπροβουλεύτους. συνθήκας γὰρ εἶναι κοινὰς πόλεων τοὺς νόμους, οὐχὶ μέρους τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἴκουντων. τοῦ τε πουηροτάτου³ ὀλέθρου καὶ ἀνηκέστου⁴ καὶ οὐδ'⁵ εὐσχήμονος ἀρχὴν ἀπέφαινον εἶναι πόλεσί τε καὶ οἴκους ὅταν τὸ κάκιστον τῷ 2 κρατίστῳ νομοθετῆ. “Ποίαν⁶ δὲ ὑμεῖς,” ἔφασαν, “ῳ δήμαρχοι, νόμων εἰσφορᾶς ἢ ἀναιρέσεως ἐξουσίαν ἔχετε; οὐκ ἐπὶ ρήτορις μὲν δικαίοις ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐλάβετε, τοῖς δ' ἀδικουμένοις ἢ κατισχυομένοις τῶν πενήτων βοηθεῖν ἥτήσασθε τοὺς δημάρχους, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν; εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ πρότερον ἦν τις ὑμῶν δύναμις ἦν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου βιασάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἐλάβετε, ὑποκατακλινομένης ἐκάστῳ πλεονεκτή-

¹ πρεσβύτεροι Β : πρεσβύτατοι R.

² ἐπιτρέψουσιν Α : ἐπιτρέπουσιν R.

³ φανερωτάτου Kiessling.

the senators, both old and young—did speak against the law, delivering speeches that were the result of much thought and preparation ; and this went on for many days. Then the tribunes, chafing at the loss of time, would no longer permit the opponents of the law to speak against it, but appointing a day for ratifying it, urged the plebeians to be present in force, assuring them that they should not be bored by any more long harangues but should give their votes by tribes concerning the law. After making these promises the tribunes dismissed the assembly.

IV. After this the consuls and the most influential of the patricians, going to the tribunes, upbraided them more harshly than before, saying they would not permit them to propose laws, and especially laws not recommended by a preliminary decree of the senate. For laws were compacts of states affecting all alike, and not of a single portion of the residents of states. They further pointed out that it is the first step in the most wicked, irremediable and indecent ruination for both states and households when the worst element prescribes laws for the best. “ And what authority,” they asked, “ have you, tribunes, to introduce or to abrogate laws ? Did you not receive this magistracy from the senate upon explicit terms ? Did you not ask that the tribunes might come to the assistance of those of the poor who were injured and oppressed, but should meddle with nothing else ? But, be that as it may, even if you previously possessed some power which you had wrongfully extorted from us, because the senate

⁴ καὶ ἀνηκέστου B : om. R.

⁵ οὐδὲ B : οὐκ R.

⁶ ποίαν Lapus, Sylburg : ποίας AB.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ματι τῆς βουλῆς, οὐχὶ καὶ ταύτην νῦν ἀπολωλέκατε
 3 τῇ μεταβολῇ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων;¹ οὔτε γὰρ βουλῆς
 δόγμα ὑμᾶς οὐκέτι² ἀποδείκνυσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν,
 οὔτε αἱ φράτραι τὴν ψῆφον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐπιφέρουσιν,
 οὔτε ἴερὰ προθύεται τοῖς θεοῖς πρὸ τῶν ἀρχαιρε-
 σίων,³ ἃ κατὰ νόμους ἔχρην ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, οὔτε ἄλλο
 τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶν ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους
 δοσίων οὐθὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας γίνεται.
 τίνος οὖν ὑμῶν ἔτι μέτεστι τῶν ἴερῶν καὶ σεβασμοῦ
 δεομένων, ὃν ἔν τι⁴ καὶ ὁ νόμος ἦν, ἔξαρνησαμένοις
 4 ἅπαντα τὰ νόμιμα;” ταῦτά τε δὴ τοῖς δημάρχοις
 ἔλεγον οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ νέοι αὐτῶν καθ'
 ἔταιρίας διεξιόντες ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν
 ἐπιεικεστέρους τῶν δημοτῶν⁵ ὅμιλίαις ἀνελάμβανον
 κεχαρισμέναις, τοὺς δ' ἀπειθεῖς καὶ ταραχώδεις
 ἀπειλαῖς κατεπλήγτοντο κινδύνων, εἰ μὴ σωφρονή-
 σειαν⁶ ἥδη δέ τινας τῶν πάνυ ἀπόρων καὶ ἀπερριμ-
 μένων, οὓς οὐθενὸς τῶν κοινῶν παρὰ τὰ ἴδια κέρδη
 φροντὶς ἦν, παίοντες ὥσπερ ἀνδράποδα ἀνεῖργον ἐκ
 τῆς ἀγορᾶς.

V. ‘Ο δὲ πλείστους τε περὶ αὐτὸν’ ἔχων ἔταιρους
 καὶ μέγιστον τῶν τότε νέων δυνάμενος Καίσων
 Κοῦντιος ἦν, υἱὸς Λευκίου Κοῦντίου τοῦ καλουμένου
 Κικινάτου, ὃ γένος τ' ἦν ἐπιφανὲς καὶ βίος οὐ-
 θενὸς δεύτερος, ἀνὴρ ὀφθῆναι τε κάλλιστος νέων
 καὶ τὰ πολέμια πάντων λαμπρότατος φύσει τε περὶ

¹ ἀρχαιρεσίων B : ἀρχαιρεσιῶν R, Jacoby.

² οὐκέτι B : om. R.

³ ἀρχαιρεσίων AB : ἀρχαιρεσιῶν Jacoby.

⁴ ἔν τι B : ἔτι R.

⁵ δημοτῶν B : πολιτῶν R.

⁶ σωφρονήσειαν R : συμφρονήσειαν A, Jacoby.

⁷ Kiessling : αὐτὸν O.

weakly gave in to each encroachment of yours, have you not lost even this power now through the changed character of your elections ?¹ For neither a decree of the senate appoints you any longer to the magistracy, nor do the *curiae* give their votes concerning you, nor are there offered up to the gods before your election the sacrifices appointed by the laws, nor is anything else done in connexion with your magistracy that is holy in the eyes of the gods or right in the sight of men. What share have you, then, any longer in any of the things that are holy and call for reverence—of which the law was one—now that you have renounced everything lawful ?” These were the arguments that the older and the young patricians, going about the city in organized groups, used with the tribunes. The more fair-minded of the plebeians they sought to win over by friendly intercourse, and the refractory and turbulent they attempted to terrify with threats of dangers which they would incur unless they came to their senses. Indeed, in the case of some who were very poor and abject and cared naught for the public interests in comparison with their own advantage, they drove them out of the Forum with blows as if they had been slaves.

V. But the person² who was attended with the largest number of followers and had the most influence of all the young men at that time was Caeso Quintius, the son of Lucius Quintius called Cincinnatus, a man both of illustrious birth and of a fortune inferior to none, the handsomest of youths to look upon, distinguished above all others in warfare, and

¹ Cf. ix. 41, 2 f.; 49, 5.

² For chaps. 5–8, 4 cf. Livy iii. 11, 6–13, 10.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

λόγους κεχρημένος ἀγαθῇ· ὃς ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ πολὺς ἔρρει κατὰ τῶν δημοτικῶν οὕτε λόγων φειδόμενος ὡν βαρὺ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἀκούειν, οὕτ' ἔργων ἀκολούθων τοῖς λόγοις ἀπεχόμενος. οἱ μὲν οὖν πατρίκιοι τίμιοι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶχον¹ καὶ μένειν παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ἡξίουν, αὐτοὶ² παρασχεῖν³ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ὑπισχνούμενοι· οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πάντων δὴ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐμίσουν. τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἔγνωσαν οἱ δήμαρχοι πρῶτον ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι, ὡς καταπληξόμενοι τὸν λοιπὸν τῶν νέων καὶ προσαναγκάσοντες σωφρονεῖν. γνόντες δὲ ταῦτα καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι λόγους τε καὶ μάρτυρας πολλοὺς εἰσάγουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ δίκην ἀδικήματος δημοσίου, θανάτου τιμησάμενοι τὴν δίκην. παραγγείλαντες δ' αὐτῷ παρεῖναι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ὁ χρόνος ὃν ἔταξαν τῇ δίκῃ, συναγαγόντες ἐκκλησίαν μακροὺς ἐποιήσαντο κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγους, διεξιόντες ὅσα βίᾳ διαπεπραγμένος ἐτύγχανεν εἰς τὸν δημότας, ὡν τὸν πεπονθότας αὐτοὺς παρῆγον μάρτυρας. ὡς δὲ παρέδωκαν τὸν λόγον, αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ μειράκιον οὐχ ὑπῆκονε καλούμενον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἀλλ' ἡξίου τοῖς ἴδιώταις αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ὡν ἥτιῶντο παθεῖν κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑπέχειν δίκας, ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τῆς κρίσεως γινομένης· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ χαλεπῶς φέροντας τὴν αὐθάδειαν τοῦ μειρακίου τὸν δημοτικὸν ὄρῶν ἀπελογεῖτο τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ψευδῆ τε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς συγκείμενα κατὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδεικνύς· 4 ὅσα δ' οὐκ ἐνῆν ἀρνήσασθαι μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα καὶ οὐκ ἄξια δημοσίας ὄργης εἶναι λέγων καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα

¹ εἶχον Ο : ἦγον Cobet.

² αὐτοὶ Β : αὐτὸν R.

possessing a natural talent for speaking. This he freely indulged at that time against the plebeians ; and he neither spared words hard for free men to listen to nor refrained from deeds that matched his words. For these reasons the patricians held him in great esteem and urged him to continue on his dangerous course, promising to afford him impunity ; but the plebeians hated him above all men. This man the tribunes determined to remove out of the way first, expecting to terrify the rest of the youths and compel them to act sensibly. Having come to this decision and got ready their accusations and numerous witnesses, they brought him to trial for a crime against the state, for which they fixed death as the penalty. When they had summoned him to appear before the populace and the day they had appointed for the trial had come, they called an assembly and delivered lengthy speeches against him, enumerating all the acts of violence he had committed against the plebeians and presenting as witnesses the victims of his acts in person. When they gave him leave to speak, the youth himself, being called upon to make his defence, refused, but asked the right to give satisfaction to the private persons themselves for the injuries of which they accused him, the hearing to take place before the consuls. His father, however, observing that the plebeians were offended by the haughtiness of the youth, endeavoured to excuse him by showing that most of the accusations were false and deliberately invented against his son ; that the instances which he could not deny were slight and trivial and not deserving the resentment of the public, and that not

³ παρέξειν Cobet, παρασχήσειν Hertlein.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

εξ ἐπιβουλῆς η̄ δι' ὕβριν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας
 μειρακιώδους γεγονότα ἐπιδεικνύμενος, δι' ην
 πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ συμβῆναι δρᾶσαι τῶν ἀβουλήτων
 ἐν ἀψιμαχίαις, πολλὰ δ' ἵσως καὶ παθεῖν, οὕτε
 ήλικίας ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ ὅντι οὕτε φρονήσεως ἐν
 5 τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ. ηξίου τε τοὺς δημοτικοὺς μὴ
 μόνον ὄργὴν μὴ ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς ἡμαρτεῖν εἰς ὀλίγους,¹
 ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριν εἰδέναι περὶ ὧν ἄπαντας εὖ ποιῶν
 ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις διετέλεσε, τοῖς μὲν ἴδιώταις ἐλευ-
 θερίαν κτώμενος, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι ἡγεμονίαν, ἔαυτῷ
 δὲ εἴ ποτε ἀμάρτοι τι φιλανθρωπίαν παρὰ τῶν πολ-
 λῶν² καὶ βοήθειαν. καὶ διεξήει τάς τε στρατείας
 πάσας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἄπαντας ἐξ ὧν ἀριστεῖα
 καὶ στεφάνους παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἔλαβε, πολι-
 τῶν τε ὁπόσων ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὑπερήσπισε καὶ
 6 τείχεσι πολεμίων ὁσάκις πρῶτος ἐπέβη. τελευτῶν
 δ' εἰς οἴκτους κατέβαινε καὶ δεήσεις, ἀντὶ³ τῆς
 ἔαυτοῦ πρὸς ἄπαντας ἐπιεικείας βίου τε, ὃς ἡμαρ-
 τυρεῖτο αὐτῷ πάσης καθαρὸς διαβολῆς, μίαν ἀπ-
 αιτῶν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου χάριν, φυλάξαι τὸν νιὸν
 αὐτῷ.

VII. 'Ο μὲν οὖν δῆμος ηδετο πάνυ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ
 χαρίζεσθαι τὸ μειράκιον τῷ πατρὶ πρόθυμος ην.
 ὁ δὲ Οὐεργύνιος ὄρῶν ὅτι μὴ δόντος ἐκείνου δίκην
 ἀφόρητον ἔσται τὸ⁴ θράσος τῶν αὐθαδῶν μειρα-
 2 κίων, ἀνίσταται καὶ φησιν. "Σοὶ μέν, ὡ Κοῖντιε,
 η τε ἄλλῃ μαρτυρεῖται πᾶσα ἀρετὴ καὶ η πρὸς τοὺς
 δημοτικοὺς εὔνοια, ἀνθ' ὧν τὸ τιμāσθαι σοι περί-

¹ ὀλίγους Kiessling : λόγους O.

² πολλῶν O : πολιτῶν Kiessling.

³ ἀντὶ B : om. R.

⁴ τὸ added by Kiessling.

even these had proceeded from design or insolence, but from a youthful ambition which had led him to do many unpremeditated things in scrimmages—and perhaps to suffer many too—since he was neither at the prime of life nor at the best age for clear judgement. And he asked the plebeians not only to entertain no resentment for the offences which he had committed against a few, but even to feel grateful for the services he had constantly rendered to them all in the wars while trying to secure liberty for his fellow citizens in private life, supremacy for his country, and for himself, if he should be guilty of any offence, friendly consideration and succour from the people generally. He proceeded to enumerate all the campaigns and all the battles in which he had received from his generals rewards of valour and crowns, how many citizens he had shielded in battle, and how often he had been the first man to scale the enemy's walls. And at last he ended with appeals to their compassion and with entreaties ; in consideration of his fairness toward all men and of his life in general, which stood approved as free from all reproach, he asked of the people one single favour —to safeguard his son for him.

VI. The people were exceedingly pleased with this speech and were eager to grant the life of the youth to his father. But Verginius, perceiving that if he were not punished the boldness of the headstrong youths would become intolerable, rose up and said : “ As for you, Quintius, not only all your other merits, but also your goodwill toward the plebeians is amply attested, and for these you have received

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

εστιν.¹ ή δὲ τοῦ μειρακίου βαρύτης καὶ ή πρὸς
 ἄπαντας ἡμᾶς ὑπερηφανία παραίτησιν η̄ συγγνώμην
 οὐδεμίαν ἐπιδέχεται· ὅστις ὑπὸ τοῖς σοὶς η̄θεσι
 τραφεὶς οὕτως οὖσι δημοτικοῖς καὶ μετρίοις, ὡς
 ἄπαντες ἵσμεν, τῶν μὲν σῶν ὑπερεῖδεν ἐπιτηδευ-
 μάτων, τυραννικὴν δὲ αὐθάδειαν καὶ βαρβάρων
 ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν ἥγαπησε, καὶ πονηρῶν ἔργων
 3 ζῆλον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν εἰσαγήοχεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν
 ἐλάνθανέ σε τοιοῦτος ὁν, νῦν² ὅτι³ ἔγνωκας ἀγα-
 νακτεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δίκαιος ἂν εἴης· εἰ δὲ συνήδεις τε
 καὶ συνέπραττες οἷς προεπηλάκιζε τὴν τῶν πενήτων
 πολιτῶν τύχην, πονηρὸς ἄρα καὶ αὐτὸς ἥσθα, καὶ
 ή τῆς καλοκάγαθίας δόξα οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου σοι
 περιγέγονεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι³ ἥγνόεις αὐτὸν οὐκ
 őντα τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἄξιον, ἐγώ σοι τοῦτ' ἔχω
 μαρτυρεῖν. ἀπολύων δέ σε τοῦ τότε συναδικεῖν
 ἡμᾶς μέμφομαι τοῦ νῦν ἡμῶν μὴ συναγανακτεῖν.
 4 ἵνα δὲ μᾶλλον μάθῃς ἡλίκον ἄρα τῇ πόλει κακὸν
 ἐπιτρέφων ἐλάνθανες, ὡς ὡμὸν καὶ τυραννικὸν καὶ
 οὐδὲ φόνου πολιτικοῦ καθαρόν, ἄκουσον αὐτοῦ
 φιλότιμον ἔργον καὶ ἀντιπαρεξέτασον αὐτῷ τὰς ἐν
 τοῖς πολέμοις ἀριστείας· καὶ ὑμῶν ὅσοι συνεπαθεῖτε
 ἀρτίως οὔκτιζομένω τῷ ἀνδρὶ σκοπεῖτε, εἰ ἄρα
 καλῶς ὑμῶν ἔχει τοιούτου φείσασθαι πολίτου.”

VII. Ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἀνίστησιν ἐκ τῶν συναρχόν-
 των Μάρκου Οὐόλούσκιον καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἀ-
 σύνοιδε τῷ μειρακίῳ. σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ
 πολλῆς ἐξ ἀπάντων προσδοκίας μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ὁ
 2 Οὐόλούσκιος εἶπεν· “Ἐγὼ μάλιστα ἐβουλόμην ἄν,⁴

¹ Reiske : πάρεστιν Ο, Jacoby.

² νῦν γ' Kiessling. ³ ὅτι Α : om. B.

⁴ μάλιστ' ἄν ἐβουλόμην Cobet.

honour. But the offensive behaviour of this youth and his haughtiness toward us all admit of no palliation or pardon ; for though nurtured in your principles, which are so democratic and moderate, as we are all aware, he despised your ways of life and grew fond of a tyrannical arrogance and a barbarian insolence, and has introduced into our commonwealth an emulation of base deeds. If, therefore, you were unaware hitherto of his character, now that you know it, you ought in justice to be indignant on our account; but if you were privy to and took part in the foul abuse he was wont to pour out upon the unhappy lot of the poor citizens, then you too were base and did not deserve the reputation for uprightness that has come to you. But that you did not know him to be unworthy of your excellence I myself can bear you witness. Nevertheless, though I acquit you of joining with him in injuring us at that time, I blame you for not joining with us now in resenting those injuries. And that you may know better how great a bane you have reared up unwittingly against the commonwealth, how cruel and tyrannical and not even free from the murder of his fellow citizens, listen to an ambitious exploit of his and balance it against the rewards of valour he received in the wars. And as many of you plebeians as were just now affected with the compassion which this man endeavoured to arouse, consider whether it is after all well for you to spare such a citizen.”

VII. Having spoken thus, he asked Marcus Volscius, one of his colleagues, to rise up and tell what he knew about the youth. When all had become silent and full of expectation, Volscius, after a short pause, said : “ I should have preferred, citizens, to

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ω πολῖται, δίκην ἴδιαν, ἦν ὁ νόμος δίδωσί μοι, παρὰ τούτου λαβεῖν δεινὰ καὶ πέρα δεινῶν πεπονθώς· κωλυθεὶς δὲ τούτου τυχεῖν διὰ πενίαν καὶ ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς εἶναι, νῦν γ'¹ ἥνικα ἔξεστί μοι τὸ τοῦ μάρτυρος σχῆμα, ἐπειδὴ οὐ τὸ τοῦ κατηγόρου, λήψομαι. ἂ δὲ πέπονθα, ὡς
 3 ὡμὰ καὶ ἀνήκεστα, ἀκούσατέ μου. ἀδελφὸς ἦν μοι Λεύκιος, ὃν ἐγὼ πάντων ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον² ἡγάπησα. οὗτός μοι συνεδείπνει παρὰ φίλω, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀναστάντες ἐρχομένης τῆς νυκτὸς³ ὠχόμεθα. διεληλυθόσι δ' ἡμῖν τὴν ἀγορὰν περιτυγχάνει Καίσων οὗτοσὶ κωμάζων σὺν ἑτέροις ἀγερώχοις μειρακίοις. καὶ οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐσκωπόν τε καὶ ὕβριζον εἰς⁴ ἡμᾶς, οἱ⁵ ἀν μεθύοντες⁶ νέοι καὶ αὐθάδεις εἰς⁷ ταπεινοὺς καὶ πένητας,⁸ ὡς δ' ἡγανακτοῦμεν πρὸς αὐτούς, Λεύκιος ἐλεύθερον ρῆμα⁹ εἰς τοῦτον¹⁰ εἶπε. δεινὸν δ' ἡγησάμενος οὗτοσὶ Καίσων ἀκοῦσαι τι ὅν οὐκ ἐβούλετο, προσδραμὰν αὐτῷ παίων καὶ λακτίζων καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ὡμότητα καὶ¹¹
 † ὕβριν ἐνδεικνύμενος ἀποκτείνει. ἐμοῦ δὲ κεκραγότος καὶ ἀμυνομένου τοσαῦτα¹² ὅσα ἐδυνάμην, ἐκεῖνον ἥδη νεκρὸν κείμενον ἀφεὶς ἐμὲ¹³ πάλιν ἔπαιε καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπάυσατο πρὶν ἀκίνητόν τε καὶ ἄφωνον εἶδεν ἐρριμμένον, δόξας εἶναι νεκρόν. μετὰ

¹ γ' B : om. R.

² μάλιστα Cobet.

³ ἐρχομένης τῆς νυκτὸς Portus, ἀρχομένης τῆς νυκτὸς Cobet : τῆς ἐχομένης νυκτὸς O, Jacoby.

⁴ εἰς om. B.

⁵ οἱ⁶ ἀν μεθύοντες Cobet : οἴλα μεθύοντες ἀν O, Jacoby.

⁶ εἰς Hertlein, Cobet : ὡς ἀν εἰς O.

⁷ πένητας Hertlein : πένητας ὕβρίσαιεν O.

receive from this man private satisfaction, such as the law affords me, for the terrible and worse than terrible wrongs I have suffered ; but having been prevented from obtaining this by reason of poverty and lack of influence and because of my being one of the common crowd, now, when it is possible, I shall take the rôle of a witness, since I can not take that of an accuser. Hear from me, then, the things I have suffered, how cruel, how irreparable they were. I had a brother, Lucius, whom I loved above all men. He and I supped with a friend and afterwards, as night came on,¹ we rose and departed. When we had passed through the Forum, Caeso here fell in with us as he was revelling with other insolent youths. At first they laughed at us and abused us, as young men when drunk and arrogant are apt to abuse the humble and poor ; and when we were vexed at them, Lucius² spoke out frankly to this man. But Caeso here, thinking it outrageous to have anything said to him that he did not like, ran up to him, and beating and kicking him and showing every other form of cruelty and abuse, killed him. And when I cried out and was doing all I could to defend him, Caeso, leaving my brother Lucius where he already lay dead, fell to beating me in turn, and ceased not until he saw me cast down upon the ground motionless and speechless, so that he took me to be dead. After that he went

¹ The MSS. give " during the following night."

² See the critical note.

⁸ Λεύκιος ἐλεύθερον ρῆμα Smit : ἐλεύθερον ρῆμα O, Jacoby.
Gelenius added ὁ ἀδελφός.

⁹ εἰς τοῦτον B : εἰς τούτων A.

¹⁰ ὡμότητα καὶ B : om. R.

¹¹ τοσαῦτα B : om. R.

¹² ἐμὲ B : om. R.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

δὲ ταῦτα οὗτος μὲν ἀπιών ὥχετο χαίρων ὥσπερ
 ἐπὶ καλῷ ἔργῳ· ἡμᾶς δὲ οἱ παραγενόμενοι μετὰ
 ταῦτα αἷματι πεφυρμένους αἴρουσι καὶ εἰς τὴν
 οἰκίαν ἀπεκόμισαν, τὸν μὲν ἀδελφόν μου¹ Λεύκιον²
 νεκρόν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐμὲ δὲ ἡμιθανῆ καὶ ἐλπί-
 δας ἔχοντα τοῦ ζῆν ὀλίγας. ταῦτα δ' ἐγένετο
 Ποπλίου Σερουϊλίου καὶ Λευκίου Αἰβουτίου τὴν
 ὑπατείαν ἔχοντων, ὅτε ἡ μεγάλη νόσος κατέλαβε
 τὴν πόλιν, ἃς ἀπηλαύσαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀμφότεροι.
 τότε μὲν οὖν δίκην οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἦν μοι παρ' αὐτοῦ
 λαβεῖν τεθνηκότων ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων· Λευ-
 κίου δὲ³ Λοκρητίου καὶ Τίτου Οὐετουρίου παρ-
 λαβόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν ὑπὸ⁶
 δίκην ἐκωλύθην διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκλελοιπότων
 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων τὴν πόλιν. ὡς δὲ ἀν-
 έστρεψαν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας, πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἐπὶ⁷
 τὴν ἀρχὴν καλῶν, ὁσάκις προσέλθοιμι⁴ (καὶ ταῦτα
 δὴ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἵσασι), πληγὰς ἐλάμβανον
 ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. ταῦτ’ ἐστὶν ἀ πέπονθα, ὡς δημόται,
 μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας εἰρημένα πρὸς ὑμᾶς.”

VIII. Ταῦτ’ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ κραυγή τε ἐκ τῶν
 παρόντων ἐγένετο καὶ ὅρμὴ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ
 χειρὸς δίκην. ἀλλ’ οἵ τε ὑπατοι ἐμποδὼν ἐγένοντο
 καὶ τῶν δημάρχων οἱ πλείους πονηρὸν ἔθος οὐκ
 ἀξιοῦντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσάγειν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦ
 δήμου τὸ καθαρώτατον οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποστερεῖν
 λόγου τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγωνιζομένους.
 2 τότε μὲν οὖν ἐπέσχε τὴν τῶν θρασυτέρων ὅρμὴν
 ἡ τοῦ δικαίου πρόνοια, καὶ ἀναβολὴν ἐλαβεν ἡ δίκη,
 οὐ μικρᾶς ἐμπεσούσης φιλοτιμίας καὶ ζητήσεως
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος, εἴτ’ ἐν δεσμοῖς αὐτὸ δεῖ φυλάτ-

¹ μου B : om. R.

² Λεύκιον deleted by Cobet.

away rejoicing, as if over a noble deed. As for us, some persons who came along later took us up, covered with blood, and carried us home, my brother being dead, as I said, and I half dead and having little hope of living. This happened in the consulship of Publius Servilius and Lucius Aebutius, when the city was attacked by the great pestilence, which both of us caught. At that time, therefore, it was not possible for me to obtain justice against him, since both consuls were dead ; then, when Lucius Lucretius and Titus Veturius had succeeded to the office, I wished to bring him to trial, but was prevented by the war, both consuls having left the city. After they returned from the campaign, I often cited him to appear before those magistrates, but as often as I approached them—as many of the citizens know—I received blows from him. These are the things I have suffered, plebeians, and I have related them to you with complete truthfulness.”

VIII. After he had finished speaking, an outcry arose from those who were present and many rushed to take vengeance out of hand ; but they were prevented both by the consuls and also by the majority of the tribunes, who were unwilling to introduce a pernicious custom into the commonwealth. Indeed, the most honourable element among the plebeians too was unwilling to deprive of a defence those who were in jeopardy of their lives. Upon this occasion, therefore, a regard for justice restrained the impulse of the bolder spirits, and the trial was put off ; though no small contest and questioning arose concerning the defendant’s person, whether he should be kept in

³ λευκίου δὲ B : om. R.

⁴ Reiske : προέλθομε O.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τεσθαι τέως, εἴτ' ἐγγυητὰς δοῦναι τῆς ἀφίξεως,
 ὥσπερ καὶ¹ ὁ πατὴρ ἡξίου· καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συνελθοῦσα²
 ἐψηφίσατο χρήμασι διεγγυηθὲν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι τὸ
 3 σῶμα μέχρι δίκης. τῇ δ' ἔξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συναγαγόντες
 οἱ δῆμαρχοι τὸ πλῆθος, ἐκλιπόντος τοῦ μειρακίου
 τὴν δίκην, ἐκύρωσαν τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ψῆφον καὶ
 τοὺς ἐγγυητὰς δέκα ὄντας ἐπράξαντο τὰ περὶ τοῦ
 σώματος τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως ὅμολογηθέντα χρή-
 ματα. Καίσων μὲν οὖν τοιαύτῃ περιπεσὼν ἐπι-
 βουλῇ, κατασκευασμένων ἅπαντα τῶν δημάρχων
 καὶ Οὐδούσκιου ψευδῆ³ μαρτυρήσαντος, ὡς⁴ ἐγέ-
 νετο φανερὸν σὺν χρόνῳ, φεύγων εἰς Τυρρηνίαν
 ὥχετο· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς οὔσιας
 ἀπεμπολήσας καὶ τὰ ὅμολογηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγ-
 γυητῶν χρήμata ἀποδούς, ἐαυτῷ χωρίον ἐν μικρὸν
 ὑπολειπόμενος πέραν τοῦ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ, ἐν ὦ
 ταπεινή τις ἦν καλύβη, γεωργῶν αὐτόθι μετὰ
 δούλων ὀλίγων ἐπίπονον καὶ ταλαίπωρον ἔζη βίον
 ὑπὸ λύπης τε καὶ πενίας, οὕτε πόλιν ὅρῶν οὕτε
 φίλους ἀσπαζόμενος οὕθ' ἐορτάζων οὕτ' ἄλλης
 5 εὐφροσύνης οὐδεμιᾶς ἐαυτῷ μεταδιδούς. τοῖς μέν-
 τοι δημάρχοις πολὺ τὸ παράλογον ἐγένετο τῆς
 ἐλπίδος. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἐπαύσατο ἡ τῶν νέων φιλο-
 τιμία σωφρονισθεῖσα τῇ Καίσωνος συμφορᾷ, πολὺ
 δὲ χαλεπωτέρα καὶ πλείων ἐγένετο ἔργοις τε καὶ
 λόγοις καταγωνιζομένη τὸν νόμον· ὥστ' οὐθὲν ἔτι
 αὐτοῖς ἔξεγένετο διαπράξασθαι δαπανηθέντος εἰς
 ταῦτα τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὁ μέντοι δῆμος εἰς
 τὸν ἐπιόντα πάλιν ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχοντας ἀπέδειξεν
 αὐτούς.⁵

¹ καὶ A : om. R.

² συνελθοῦσα B : om. R.

³ ψευδῆ om. B.

chains in the meantime or should give sureties for his appearance, as his father requested. The senate, assembling, ordered that if bail were offered his person should be free till the trial. The next day the tribunes assembled the populace and, the youth not appearing for trial, they caused a vote to be passed for his condemnation and compelled his sureties, ten in number, to pay over the sums agreed upon in case of their failure to produce his person. Caeso, accordingly, having fallen a victim to a plot of this sort—for the tribunes had contrived the whole business and Volscius had borne false witness, as became clear later—went into exile in Tyrrhenia. His father sold the greater part of his estate and repaid the sureties the sums agreed upon, leaving nothing for himself but one small farm lying on the other side of the river Tiber, on which there was an humble cottage ; and there, cultivating the farm with the help of a few slaves, he led a laborious and miserable life because of his grief and poverty, neither visiting the city nor greeting his friends nor taking part in the festivals nor allowing himself any other pleasure. The tribunes,¹ however, were greatly disappointed in their expectations ; for the contentiousness of the young men, far from being chastened by the unhappy fate of Caeso, grew much more vexatious and excessive as they fought the law with both actions and words. The result was that the tribunes were unable to accomplish anything more, the whole time of their magistracy being taken up with these contests. The populace, however, chose them again as their magistrates for the following year.

¹ For § 5 cf. Livy iii. 14.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

IX. Ποπλίου δὲ Οὐαλερίου Ποπλικόλα καὶ Γαῖου Κλαυδίου Σαβίνου τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἔξουσίαν παραλαβόντων κίνδυνος ὅσος οὕπω τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσχεν ἐξ ἀλλοεθνοῦς πολέμου, ὃν παρήγαγεν ἐντὸς τείχους ἡ πολιτικὴ στάσις, ὡς οἱ τε Σιβύλλειοι χρησμοὶ προϋλεγον καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου φανέντα προεθέσπισε τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ. διηγήσομαι δὲ τὴν τε αἰτίαν ἀφ' ἣς ὁ πόλεμος εἰσῆλθε καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα τοῖς ὑπάτοις κατὰ τὸν 2 τότε ἀγῶνα. οἱ παρειληφότες τὸ δεύτερον τὴν δημαρχίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι τοῦ κυρώσειν τὸν νόμον, ὁρῶντες τῶν τε ὑπάτων τὸν ἔτερον, Γάιον Κλαύδιον, ἔμφυτον τὸ πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἔχοντα μῆσος διὰ προγόνων καὶ παρεσκευασμένον ἀπάσῃ μηχανῇ κωλύειν τὰ γινόμενα, τῶν τε νέων τοὺς πλεῦστον δυναμένους εἰς ἀπόνοιαν φανερὰν προεληλυθότας, οὓς οὐκ ἐνῆν τῷ βιαίῳ καταγωνίσασθαι, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ δῆμου τὸ πλεῖον ὑποκατακλινόμενον ταῖς θεραπείαις τῶν πατρικίων καὶ προθυμίᾳν οὐκέτι περὶ τοῦ νόμου τὴν αὐτὴν παρεχόμενον, ἵταμωτέραν ὄδὸν ἔγνωσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα πορεύεσθαι, δι' ἣς καταπλήξονται μὲν τὸν δῆμον, ἀνα- 3 βαλοῦσι δὲ τὸν ὑπατον. πρῶτον μὲν κατεσκεύασαν φήμας λέγεσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν παντοδαπάς· ἐπειτ' ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ καθεζόμενοι δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας συνήδρευον ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, μεταδιδόντες οὐθενὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν οὔτε βουλεύματος οὔτε λόγου. ἐπεὶ δὲ καιρὸς ἐπιτήδειος ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς εἶναι πράττειν τὰ βεβουλευμένα, πλασάμενοι γράμματα καὶ ταῦτα¹ παρεσκευάσαντες ἀναδοθῆναι σφίσιν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀγνῶτος καθημένοις ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ὡς διῆλθον αὐτά, παίοντες

¹ ταῦτα om. A.

IX. When Publius Valerius Publicola and Gaius Claudius Sabinus ¹ had assumed the consular power, a danger greater than ever before came upon Rome from a foreign war ²; and it was brought upon her by the civil dissension inside the walls, as both the Sibylline oracles and the portents sent by Heaven had foretold the year before.³ I shall relate not only the cause from which the war arose, but also the action taken by the consuls during that contest. The men who had assumed the tribuneship for the second time in the hope of securing the ratification of the law, observing that one of the consuls, Gaius Claudius, had an inborn hatred of the plebeians, inherited from his ancestors, and was prepared to defeat the plans afoot by every possible means, that the most influential of the youths had reached the point of open desperation, with no possibility of their being subdued by forcible means, and above all, that most of the populace were yielding to the blandishments of the patricians and no longer exhibiting the same zeal for the law, resolved to take a bolder course toward their goal, by which they expected to dumbfound the populace and unseat the consul. First, then, they caused all manner of rumours to be spread throughout the city; afterwards they sat in council publicly throughout the whole day from early morning without admitting any outsiders to their counsels and discussions. Then, when it seemed to them to be the proper time for putting their plans into execution, they forged letters and contrived to have these delivered to them by an unknown person as they sat in the Forum; and as soon as they had perused them, they sprang up,

¹ For chaps. 9-13 cf. Livy iii. 15, 1-4.

² See chaps. 14 ff.

³ See chap. 2, 5.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τὰ μέτωπα καὶ κατηφεῖς τὰς ὄψεις ποιήσαντες
 4 ἀνίστανται. πολλοῦ δὲ συνδραμόντος ὅχλου καὶ
 μέγα τι κακὸν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ἔνειναι γεγραμ-
 μένον μαντευομένου σιωπὴν προκηρύξαντες εἶπον·
 “Ἐν ἐσχάτοις ἐστὶν ὑμῖν κινδύνοις, ὡς πολῖται,
 τὸ δημοτικόν· καὶ εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις εὔνοια προείδετο
 τῶν¹ ἄδικα πάσχειν μελλόντων, εἰς δεινὰς ἃν
 ἄπαντες ἥλθομεν συμφοράς. αἴτούμεθα δὲ ὑμᾶς
 βραχὺν ἐπισχεῖν χρόνον, ἕως ἂν² τῇ βουλῇ δηλώ-
 σωμεν³ τὰ προσαγγελθέντα καὶ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης
 5 πράξωμεν⁴ τὰ δέοντα⁵.” ταῦτ’ εἰπόντες ὠχούντο
 πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους. ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ἡ βουλὴ συνήγετο
 χρόνῳ, πολλοὶ καὶ παντοδαποὶ λόγοι κατὰ τὴν
 ἀγορὰν ἐγίνοντο, τῶν μὲν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἢ παρηγ-
 γέλλετο⁶ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων κατὰ συστροφὰς
 λαλούντων, τῶν δέ, ἃ μάλιστα ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ
 γένηται, ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηγγελμένα τοῖς δημάρχοις
 6 λεγόντων. ἔφη δ’ ὁ μέν τις Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐο-
 λούσκους ὑποδεξαμένους Καίσωνα Κοῖντιον τὸν ὑπὸ
 τοῦ δήμου καταδικασθέντα ἥρησθαι στρατηγὸν
 αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πολλὰς δυνάμεις ἀγεί-
 ραντας⁷ μέλλειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνειν· ὁ δέ τις
 ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης τῶν πατρικίων τὸν ἄνδρα
 κατάγεσθαι ξενικαῖς δυνάμεσιν, ἵνα ἡ φυλακὴ
 καταλυθείη⁸ νῦν τε καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τῶν
 δημοτικῶν· ὁ δέ τις οὐχ ἄπαντας εἶναι τοὺς πατρι-
 κίους ἔφη τοὺς ταῦτα βεβουλευμένους, ἀλλὰ μόνους
 7 τοὺς νέους. ἐτόλμων δέ τινες λέγειν ὅτι καὶ ἐντὸς

¹ προείδετο τῶν Sylburg : προεῖδε τούτων ΑΒ.

² ἀν R : om. B. ³ δηλώσωμεν R : δηλώσομεν Bb.

⁴ πράξωμεν R : πράξομεν Bb.

⁵ δέοντα A : δόξαντα B.

beating their foreheads and assuming downcast countenances. And when a large crowd had flocked together and was conjecturing that some dreadful intelligence was contained in the letters, they ordered the heralds to proclaim silence and then said : " Your plebeians are in the gravest peril, citizens ; and if some benevolence of the gods had not provided for those who were on the point of suffering injustice, we should all have fallen into dire calamities. We ask you to have a little patience till we acquaint the senate with the information we have received and after consulting with them take the necessary measures." Having spoken thus, they went to the consuls. While the senate was assembling, many reports of all kinds circulated in the Forum, as some persons, by previous arrangement, talking in groups, retailed the stories suggested to them by the tribunes, and others named the things they most dreaded to have happen as the matters that had been reported to the tribunes. One said that the Aequians and the Volscians, having received Caeso Quintius, the man condemned by the populace, had chosen him general of both nations with absolute power, had raised numerous forces, and were upon the point of marching on Rome ; another said that by the concerted plan of the patricians he was being brought back by foreign troops in order that the magistracy which was the guardian of the plebeians might be abolished now and forever ; and still another said that not all the patricians had decided on this course, but only the young men. Some ventured to state that Caeso was

⁶ παρηγέλλετο ΑΒ : παρήγγελτο R(?)�.

⁷ Kiessling : ἀγείραντα O, Jacoby.

⁸ καταλυθείη B : καταλυθῆ R.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τῆς πόλεως ὁ ἀνὴρ εἴη κρυπτόμενος καὶ μέλλοι καταλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν τόπων τοὺς ἐπικαιροτάτους. ὅλης δὲ κραδαινομένης ἐπὶ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῶν δεινῶν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ πάντων ἀλλήλους ἔχόντων δι’ ὑποψίας καὶ φυλακῆς, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι παρελθόντες¹ ἔδεικνυσαν τὰ προσαγγελλόμενα. ἦν δὲ ὁ τοὺς λόγους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιούμενος Αὐλος Οὐεργίνιος καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

X. “Οσον μὲν χρόνον οὐθὲν ἀκριβὲς ἡμῖν ἔφαινετο τῶν προσαγγελλομένων δεινῶν, ἀλλὰ φῆμαι μετέωροι καὶ τὸ βεβαιώσον αὐτὰς οὐθὲν ἦν, ὥκνοῦμεν, ὡς βουλή, φέρειν τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγους εἰς μέσον,² ταραχάς τε ὑποπτεύοντες ἔσεσθαι μεγάλας, οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ δεινοῖς ἀκούσμασι, καὶ δι’ εὐλαβείας ἔχοντες μὴ ταχύτερα δόξωμεν ὑμῖν
2 βεβουλεῦσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτερα. οὐ μὴν ὄλιγωρίᾳ γ’ αὐτὰ παραδόντες ἀφήκαμεν, ἀλλ’ ὅσῃ δύναμις ἡμῖν ἦν ἐπιμελῆ ζήτησιν ἐποιούμεθα τῆς ἀληθείας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου πρόνοια, ὑφ’ ἡς ἀεὶ σωζόμεθα κοινῇ, καλῶς ποιοῦσα τὰ κεκρυμμένα βουλεύματα καὶ τὰς ἀνοσίους ἐπιχειρήσεις τῶν θεοῖς ἔχθρῶν εἰς φῶς ἄγει, καὶ γράμματα πάρεστιν ἡμῖν ἃ δεδέγμεθα νεωστὶ παρὰ ξένων εὔνοιαν ἡμῖν ἐνδεικνυμένων, οὓς ὕστερον ἀκούσεσθε, καὶ συντρέχει τε καὶ συνάδει τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐπιστελλομένοις τὰ ἐνθένδε μηνυόμενα, καὶ τὰ πράγματα οὐκέτι μέλλησιν οὐδ’ ἀναβολὴν ἐν χερσὶν ὅντα ἐπιδέχεται, πρὶν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγκεῖν, ὑμῖν πρώτοις, ὡσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον, ἀπαγγεῖλαι
3 διέγνωμεν αὐτά. ἵστε δὴ συνωμοσίαν ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ

¹ παρελθόντες B : προσελθόντες A.

actually inside the city, in hiding, and was about to seize the most advantageous positions. While the whole city was shaken by expectation of these calamities and all men suspected and were on their guard against one another, the consuls assembled the senate, and the tribunes, going in, acquainted them with the reports that were being received. The one who addressed them on behalf of the others was Aulus Verginius, and he spoke as follows :

X. " As long as there seemed to us to be nothing definite about the dangers that were being reported, but there were only vague rumours and nothing to confirm them, we were reluctant, senators, to lay before you the reports about them, both because we suspected there would be great disturbances, as would be likely in a time of dreadful rumours, and also because we were afraid of appearing to you to have acted with greater precipitancy than prudence. We did not, however, ignore or neglect these reports, but inquired with all possible diligence into the truth of them. And since the divine providence, by which our commonwealth is ever preserved, is rightly bringing to light the hidden plans and wicked attempts of those who are enemies to the gods ; since we have letters, just now received from foreign friends, who thus show their goodwill to us and whose names you shall later hear ; since information given here at home coincides and agrees with the reports sent in from outside ; and since these matters no longer admit of delay or postponement, being at our very doors, we have decided to report them to you, as is proper, before laying them before the populace. Know, then, that a conspiracy has been formed

² εἰς μέσον B : εἰς τὸ μέσον R.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

γεγενημένην ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐνεῖναι
 μέν τι λέγεται μέρος οὐ πολὺ καὶ τῶν εἰς τόδε
 συλλεγομένων τὸ συνέδριον πρεσβυτέρων, τὸ δὲ
 πλεῦστον ἐκ τῶν ἔξω τῆς βουλῆς ἵππέων, οὓς οὕπω
⁴ καιρὸς οἵτινές εἰσιν ὑμῖν λέγειν. μέλλουσι δ' οὖν,
 ὡς πυνθανόμεθα, σκοταίαν φυλάξαντες νύκτα κοι-
 μωμένοις ἥμīν ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἥνικα οὔτε προϊδεῖν τι¹
 τῶν γενομένων οὔτε φυλάξασθαι καθ' ἐν γενόμενοι
 δυνάμεθα. ἐπιπεσόντες δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις τούς τε
 δημάρχους ἥμᾶς κατασφάττειν καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν
 ἄλλους τοὺς² ἐναντιωθέντας ποτὲ αὐτοῖς περὶ ἐλευ-
⁵ θερίας ἢ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐναντιωσομένους. ὅταν δὲ
 ἥμᾶς ἐκποδῶν ποιήσωνται, τότ' ἥδη κατὰ πολλὴν
 ἀσφάλειαν ἥγοῦνται διαπράξεσθαι³ παρ' ὑμῶν⁴
 ἀναιρεθῆναι διὰ κοινοῦ ψηφίσματος τὰς γενομένας
 ὑμῖν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὁμολογίας. ὄρωντες δὲ ὅτι
 ξενικῆς αὐτοῖς χειρὸς εἰς τὰ πράγματα δεῖ κρύφα
 παρασκευασθείστης καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτης μετρίας, ἄνδρα
 προσειλήφασιν εἰς ταῦτα τῶν ὑμετέρων⁵ φυγάδων
 Καίσωνα Κοῖντιον ἥγεμόνα, ὃν ἐπὶ φόνοις πολιτῶν
 καὶ διαστάσει τῆς πόλεως ἔξελεγχθέντα διεπρά-
 ἔντο τινες τῶν ἐνθάδε μὴ δοῦναι δίκην, ἀλλ'
 ἀθῶν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, κάθοδόν τε πράξειν
⁶ ὑπέσχηνται καὶ ἀρχὰς προτείνονται⁶ καὶ τιμὰς καὶ
 ἄλλους μισθοὺς τῆς ὑπουργίας. κάκεῖνος ὑπέσχη-
 ται στρατιὰν⁷ αὐτοῖς Αἰκανῶν καὶ Οὐολούσκων

¹ τι B : om. R.

² τοὺς deleted by Jacoby; Reiske preferred to delete
 ἄλλους.

³ Cobet : διαπράξασθαι Ο, Jacoby.

⁴ τὰ λοιπὰ after ὑμῶν deleted by Cary (repeated from
 second line above).

⁵ ὑμετέρων B : ἡμετέρων Α.

against the populace by men of prominence, among whom, it is said, there is a small number—not many—even of the older men who meet in this chamber, though the larger number are knights who are not members of the senate, whose names it is not yet the time to tell you. They intend, now, as we learn, to take advantage of a dark night and attack us while we are asleep, when we can neither provide against anything that is taking place nor get together in a body to defend ourselves, and, rushing into our houses, to cut the throats, not only of us tribunes, but of all the other plebeians also who have ever opposed them in defence of their liberty or may oppose them for the future. And after they have made away with us, they believe that then at last they will easily bring about the abrogation, by a unanimous vote on your part, of the compacts you made with the populace. But perceiving that they need for their purpose a body of foreign troops secretly got in readiness—and that no moderate force—they have to this end adopted as their leader one of your exiles, Caeso Quintius, a man whom, though convicted of the murder of his fellow citizens and of raising a sedition in the state, some of the members of this body contrived to save from paying the penalty, letting him go out of the city unharmed, and have promised to restore him to his country and are offering him magistracies and honours and other rewards for his help. And he on his part has promised to bring to their assistance as large a force of the Aequians

⁶ προτείνονται Α : προτείνουσι R.

⁷ κάκεῖνος ὑπέσχηται στρατιὰν Β : στρατιὰν δὲ κάκεῖνος ὑπέσχηται R.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ᾶξειν ἐπίκουρον ὅστης ἀν δεηθῶσιν· ἥξει¹ τε οὐκ εἰς
μακρὰν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπαγόμενος τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους
κρύφα κατ' ὀλίγους εἰσάγων καὶ σποράδας, ἡ δ'
ἄλλη δύναμις, ὅταν οἱ τοῦ δήμου προεστηκότες
ἡμεῖς διαφθαρῶμεν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος τῶν πενή-
των χωρήσει,² ἔάν τινες ἄρα περιέχωνται τῆς
7 ἐλευθερίας. ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡ βεβούλευνται ὑπὸ³
σκότους καὶ μέλλουσι δρᾶν, ὡς βουλή, δεινὰ καὶ
ἀνόσια ἕργα, οὕτε θεῖον φοβηθέντες χόλον οὕτε
ἀνθρωπίνην ἐντραπέντες νέμεσιν.

XI. “Ἐν τοσούτῳ δὴ κινδύνῳ σαλεύοντες ἵκέται
γινόμεθα ὑμῶν, ὡς πατέρες, ἐπισκήπτοντες θεούς τε
καὶ δαίμονας οἷς κοινῇ θύομεν, καὶ πολέμων ὑπο-
μιμήσκοντες οὓς πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους σὺν ὑμῖν
ἡράμεθα, μὴ πειδεῖν ὡμὰ καὶ ἀνόσια ὑπὸ τῶν
ἔχθρῶν παθόντας ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναί τε καὶ συν-
αγανακτῆσαι τιμωρίας ἡμῖν συνεισπράξαντας παρὰ
τῶν ταῦτα βουλευσαμένων τὰς προσηκούσας, μά-
λιστα μὲν παρὰ πάντων, εἰ δὲ μή γε, παρὰ
2 τῶν ἀρξάντων τῆς ἀθεμίτου συνωμοσίας. πρώτον
δὲ πάντων ἀξιοῦμεν ὑμᾶς, ὡς βουλή, ψηφίσασθαι
πρᾶγμα ὅπερ ἐστὶ δικαιότατον, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν μη-
νυομένων ζήτησιν ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν δημάρχων γίνε-
σθαι. χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἀκριβεστάτας
ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι ζητήσεις ἃς ἀν οἱ κινδυνεύοντες
3 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιήσωνται. εἰ δέ τινες ὑμῶν εἰσιν
οῖοι μηδὲ καθ' ἐν εὐγνωμονεῖν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἄπαντας
τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου λέγοντας ἀντιτάττεσθαι,
ἥδεως ἀν πυθοίμην παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τῷ δυσ-
χεραίνουσι τῶν ἀξιούμενων καὶ τί μέλλουσιν ὑμᾶς³

¹ ἥξει R : ἥξειν A. : ² Portus : χωρήσειν A, om. B.

³ Kiessling : ἡμᾶς AB.

and Volscians as they shall ask for. He himself will soon appear at the head of the most daring, whom he will introduce into the city secretly, a few at a time and in small bodies ; the rest of the force, as soon as we who are the leaders of the populace are destroyed, will fall next upon the rest of the poor, if any of them cling to their liberty. These are the dreadful and wicked plans, senators, which they have concocted under cover of darkness and intend to carry out without either fearing the anger of the gods or heeding the indignation of men.

XI. " Being tossed about on such a rough sea of perils, fathers, we come to you as suppliants, calling to witness the gods and lesser divinities to whom we sacrifice in common ; and reminding you of the many great wars we have waged side by side with you, we implore you not to allow us to suffer this cruel and wicked fate at the hands of our enemies, but to assist us and share our indignation, joining with us in exacting suitable punishment from those who have formed these designs—from all of them preferably, but if that may not be, then at least from the authors of this nefarious conspiracy. First of all we ask, senators, that you will pass a measure that is in every respect just, to the effect that the investigation of the matters of which we have been informed shall be conducted by us, the tribunes. For, apart from the justice of this request, those investigations are bound to be strictest which are made by those whose own lives are in danger. If there are any among you who are not disposed to show a conciliatory spirit at all, but oppose every man who speaks in favour of the populace, I should like to inquire of them what there is in our demands that displeases them and what course

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πείθειν· πότερα μηδεμίαν ποιεῖσθαι ζήτησιν, ἀλλ' ὑπεριδεῦν ἔργον οὕτω μέγα καὶ μιαρὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δῆμῳ συνιστάμενον; καὶ τίς ἂν τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας ὑγιαίνειν φήσειεν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ συνδιεφθάρθαι καὶ κοινωνεῦν τῆς συνωμοσίας, ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεδιότας, ἵνα μὴ γένωνται καταφανεῖς, ἀποσπεύδειν τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἔξετασιν; οἷς οὐκ ἂν δικαίως
 4 προσέχοιτε δήπου τὸν νοῦν. ἦ¹ τῆς διαγνώσεως τῶν μηνυομένων οὐχ ἡμᾶς εἶναι κυρίους ἀξιώσουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους; τί οὖν τὸ κωλύον ἔσται τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς προεστηκότας τοῦ δήμου λέγειν, ἐάν τινες ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐπὶ τοῦς ὑπάτους καὶ τῇ βουλῇ συστάντες πράττωσι τὴν τοῦ συνεδρίου κατάλυσιν, ὅτι τὴν περὶ τῶν δημοτῶν ἔξετασιν αὐτοὺς δίκαιον ἔστι ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνειληφότας τὴν τοῦ δήμου φυλακήν; τί οὖν ἐκ τούτου συμβήσεται; μηδεμίαν πώποτε² γενέσθαι ζήτησιν περὶ μηδενὸς πράγματος ἀπορρήτου.
 5 ἀλλ' οὕθ' ἡμεῖς ἂν ταῦτα ἀξιώσαιμεν (ὕποπτος γὰρ ἡ φιλοτιμία) ὑμεῖς τ' οὐκ ἂν ὄρθως ποιοῦτε τοῖς τὰ ὅμοια ἀξιοῦσι³ καθ' ἡμῶν προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ κοινοὺς ἡγούμενοι τῆς πόλεως ἔχθρούς. οὐδενὸς μέντοι γε, ὡς βουλή, τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡς τάχους δεῖ. ὁ γὰρ κίνδυνος δέξεις, καὶ ἡ μέλλησις τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἄωρος ἐν οὐ⁴ μέλλουσι δεινοῖς. ὥστ' ἀφέντες τὸ φιλονεικεῦν καὶ λόγους διεξιέναι μακροὺς ψηφίσασθε ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ κοινῇ συμφέρειν ἥδη.”

XII. Ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ πολλή τις ἔκπληξις

¹ ἦ B : εἰ δὲ μὴ πον A. ² πώποτε B : om. R.

³ ἀξιοῦσι B : οὐκ ἀξιοῦσι R.

⁴ οὐ Ba : oīs ABB.

they intend to recommend to you. Will it be to make no investigation whatever, but to ignore so awful and abominable a plot that is forming against the populace ? Yet who would say that those who take that line are honest, and are not rather tainted with the same corruption and sharers in the conspiracy, and then, because they are afraid they will be discovered, vigorously oppose the inquiry into the truth ? To such, surely, you would not rightly pay any heed. Or will they demand that those who are to have authority to determine the truth of these reports shall be, not we, the tribunes, but the senate and the consuls ? What, then, is to prevent the leaders of the populace also from saying the same thing in case some plebeians, conspiring against the consuls and the senate, should plot the abolition of the latter—that, namely, the investigation of the plebeians would justly be made by the very men who have assumed the protection of the populace ? What, then, will be the consequence of this procedure ? Why, that no inquiry will ever be made into any secret matter. But, just as we would never make this demand—for partisan zeal arouses suspicion—so you would not be doing right in paying heed to those who insist upon the same course against us ; on the contrary, you should look upon them as the common enemies of the state. However, senators, nothing is so necessary in the present juncture as haste ; for the danger is acute, and delay in providing for our security is unseasonable in the presence of dangers that delay not. Do you, therefore, putting aside your rivalry and your long harangues, pass at once whatever decree seems conducive to the public good.”

XII. When he had thus spoken, great consterna-

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

κατέσχε τὸ συνέδριον καὶ ἀμηχανίᾳ· διελογίζοντό
τε καὶ συνελάλουν ἀλλήλοις ὡς χαλεπὸν ἐκάτερον
ἥν, καὶ τὸ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς δημάρχοις ζητήσεις ἐφ'
έαυτῶν ποιεῖσθαι περὶ κοινοῦ καὶ μεγάλου πράγ-
ματος καὶ τὸ μὴ συγχωρεῖν.¹ ὑποπτεύσας δ' αὐτῶν
τὴν γνώμην ἀνέστη τῶν ὑπάτων ἄτερος,² Γάιος
Κλαύδιος, καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

- 2 “Οὐ δέδοικα, Οὐεργίνιε, μή με ὑπολάβωσιν οὗτοι
κοινωνὸν εἶναι τῆς συνωμοσίας ἥν ἐφ' ὑμῖν καὶ
τῷ δῆμῳ πράττεσθαι λέγετε, εἴτα³ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ
δεδιότα ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τινος ἐνόχου⁴ ταῖς αἰτίαις
ὄντος⁵ ἀνεστάναι τάναντία ὑμῖν ἔροῦντα· ὁ γὰρ βίος
ἀπολύει με πάσης ὑποψίας τοιαύτης. ἂ δὲ νομίζω
τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ συμφέρειν, ἀπὸ τοῦ
3 κρατίστου καὶ δίχα πάσης εὐλαβείας ἐρῶ. πολλοῦ,
μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ παντός, ἀμαρτάνειν δοκεῖ μοι Οὐερ-
γίνιος, εἴ τινα ὑπείληφεν ἡμῶν ἔρειν ἢ ὡς ἀνεξ-
έταστον ἀφεῖσθαι δεῖ πρᾶγμα οὗτωσὶ⁶ μέγα καὶ
ἀναγκαῖον, ἢ ὡς οὐ δεῖ κοινωνεῖν οὐδὲ παρεῖναι
τῇ ζητήσει τοὺς ἀνειληφότας τὴν τοῦ δήμου ἀρχήν.
οὐθεὶς οὔτε ἡλίθιος ἔστιν οὕτως οὔτε τῷ δῆμῳ
4 κακόνους ὥστε ταῦτα λέγειν. τί οὖν, εἴ τις ἔροιτό
με,⁷ παθών, ἂ συγχωρῶ καὶ φημι δίκαια εἶναι,
τούτοις ἀντιλέξων ἀνέστην, καὶ τί βούλεται μου ὁ
λόγος, ἐγὼ νὴ Δία φράσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς. παντὸς
οἴομαι δεῦν πράγματος, ὡς βουλή, τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ
τὰς πρώτας ὑποθέσεις τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας ἀκριβῶς
σκοπεῖν· οἵτινες γὰρ ἀν αὐταῖς τύχωσιν οὖσαι, τοιού-
τοις ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγους.

¹ συγχωρεῖν A : om. B.

² ἄτερος B : ἔτερος R.

³ εἴτα Post : ἢ τὰ O, ἢ τοι Cobet, ἢ Jacoby.

⁴ ἐνόχου B : ὡς ἐνόχου R.

⁵ ὄντος B : οὕτως A.

tion and embarrassment came upon the senate. They discussed and talked over with one another the difficulty of either course—either to grant or to refuse the tribunes permission to make investigations by themselves of a matter of general concern and great importance. And one of the consuls, Gaius Claudius, suspecting their intentions, rose up and spoke as follows :

“ I am not afraid, Verginius, that these men here will imagine that I am an accomplice in the conspiracy which you say is being formed against you and the populace, and that then, out of fear for myself or for some relation of mine who is guilty of this charge, I have risen to oppose you ; for the whole course of my life clears me of any suspicion of the sort. But what I consider to be advantageous for both the senate and the people I will say in all good faith and without reservation. Verginius seems to me to be greatly, or rather totally, mistaken if he imagines that any of us will say either that a matter of so great importance and necessity ought to be left uninvestigated or that the magistrates of the populace ought not to take part in or be present at the inquiry. No man is so foolish or so ill-disposed toward the populace as to say that. If, then, anyone should ask me what possessed me to rise up to oppose those measures which I agree to and admit to be just, and what my purpose is in speaking, by Heaven I will tell you. I believe, senators, that sensible men ought to examine minutely the beginnings and basic principles of every measure ; for of whatever nature these may be, such also must be all discussion about

⁶ οὐτωσὶ B : οὐτως ἀν A, Jacoby.

⁷ εἰ τις ἔροιτό με deleted by Cobet.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

5 φέρε δή, τίς ἡ τοῦτο πράγματος ὑπόθεσίς ἔστι
 καὶ τί τὸ βούλευμα¹ τῶν δημάρχων, ἀκούσατέ μου.
 οὐκ ἐνῆν τούτοις οὐδὲν ὃν ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνι-
 αυτῷ πράττειν ἐπιβαλλόμενοι διεκωλύθησαν, ἐπι-
 τελέσασθαι νῦν ὑμῶν τε ἐναντιουμένων αὐτοῖς ὡς
 πρότερον καὶ τοῦ δήμου μηκέθ' ὅμοίως συναγωνι-
 ζομένου. συνιδόντες δὴ τοῦτο ἐσκόπουν ὅπως ἄν
 ὑμεῖς τ' ἀναγκασθείητε παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς εἰξαι
 καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἅπαντα ὅσ' ἄν ἀξιώσι² συμπράττειν.
 6 ἀληθῆ μὲν οὖν καὶ δικαίαν ὑπόθεσιν οὐδεμίαν εὑ-
 ρισκον δι' ἣς ἐκάτερον τούτων³ ἔσται, πολλὰ δὲ
 βουλεύματα πειράζοντες καὶ στρέφοντες ἄνω καὶ
 κάτω τὸ πρᾶγμα τελευτῶντες ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον δή τινα
 λογισμὸν ἥλθον· ‘αἴτιασώμεθα συνίστασθαι τινας
 ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου καὶ
 σφάττειν διεγνωκέναι τοὺς παρέχοντας⁴ αὐτῷ τὸ
 7 ἀσφαλές. καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ πολλοῦ παρασκευάσαντες
 λέγεσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὅταν ἦδη πιστὰ εἶναι τοῖς
 πολλοῖς δόξῃ⁵—δόξει δὲ διὰ τὸ δέος—ἐπιστολὰς
 μηχανησώμεθα πολλῶν παρόντων ἡμῖν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς
 ἀγνῶτος ἀναδοθῆναι· ἔπειτ' ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ συν-
 ἔδριον ἀγανακτῶμέν τε καὶ σχετλιάζωμεν καὶ τοῦ
 ζητεῖν τὰ προσηγγελμένα αἰτῶμεν⁶ τὴν⁷ ἔξουσίαν.
 8 ἔάν τε⁸ γὰρ ἀντιλέγωσιν ἡμῖν οἱ πατρίκιοι, ταύτην
 ληψόμεθα τοῦ διαβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον
 ἀφορμήν, καὶ οὕτως ἅπαν τὸ δημοτικὸν ἡγριωμένον
 αὐτοῖς ἔτοιμον ἡμῖν εἰς ἀ βουλόμεθα ὑπάρξει· ἔάν
 τε συγχωρῶσι, τοὺς γενναιοτάτους ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ

¹ Sylburg : βούλημα Ο.

² ἀξιώσι Ba : ἀξιώσῃ ABb.

³ τούτων (ορ αὐτοῖς) Cary : τούτοις O, Jacoby.

⁴ τοὺς παρέχοντας Ba : τοὺς μὴ παρέχοντας R.

⁵ δόξῃ A : δοκῇ B.

⁶ αἰτῶμεν B : δῶμεν R.

them. Well then, learn from me what the basic principle of this measure is and what the purpose of the tribunes is. These men would not be able to carry out now any of the undertakings they were prevented from accomplishing last year if both you were to oppose them as before and the populace were no longer to espouse their quarrel with the same zeal. Since they were aware of these difficulties, they considered by what means not only you might be compelled to yield to them contrary to your judgement, but the populace also might be forced to assist them in everything they should desire. But finding no true or just basis for gaining both these ends, after trying various plans and turning the matter this way and that, they at last hit upon some such reasoning as this : 'Let us accuse some prominent men of a conspiracy to overthrow the power of the populace and of having decided to cut the throats of those who assure the safety of the populace. And after we have contrived to have these reports talked about for a long time throughout the city and when the multitude at last believe them to be trustworthy—and they will do so because of their fear—let us devise a way to have letters delivered to us in the presence of many by an unknown person. Then let us go to the senate, express our indignation, make angry complaints and demand authority to investigate the reports. For if the patricians oppose our demand, we will seize this opportunity to malign them before the populace, and by this means the whole body of the plebeians will become enraged against them and will be ready to support us in everything we desire ; and, on the other hand, if they grant it, let us banish those

⁷ τὴν B : om. R.

⁸ τε B : om. R.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πλεῖστα ἡμῖν ἐναντιωθέντας πρεσβυτέρους τε καὶ νέους ἑλαύνωμεν, ὡς εὐρηκότες ταῦς αἰτίαις ἐνόχους.
9 ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἄρα τὰς καταγνώσεις δεδιότες ἢ συμβήσονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ μηθὲν ἔτι ἀντιπράττειν ἢ καταλιπεῖν ἀναγκασθήσονται τὴν πόλιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὴν ποιήσομεν ἐρημίαν τοῦ ἀντιπάλου.'

XIII. "Ταῦτα τὰ βουλεύματα ἦν αὐτῶν, ὡς βουλή, καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον δν ἐωράτε συνεδρεύοντας¹ αὐτοὺς οὗτος ὁ δόλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑφαίνετο ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δίκτυον κατὰ τῶν εὐγενεστάτων² ἵππεων ἐπλέκετο. καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' ἔστι βραχέος μοι πάνυ δεῖ λόγου.
2 φέρε γὰρ εἴπατέ μοι, Οὐεργίνιε, οἵ τὰ δεινὰ πεισόμενοι, παρὰ τίνων ἐδέξασθε τὰ γράμματα ξένων; τῶν ποῦ κατοικούντων, ἢ πόθεν ὑμᾶς εἰδότων, ἢ πῶς τάνθάδε συνεδρευόμενα ἐπισταμένων; τί ἀναβάλλεσθε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐρεῦν αὐτοὺς ὑπισχνεῖσθε, ἀλλ' οὐ πάλαι λέγετε; τίς δ' ὁ τὰ γράμματα κομίσας ὑμῖν ἀνήρ ἔστι; τί οὐ κατάγετε αὐτὸν εἰς μέσον, ἵν' ἀπ' ἐκείνου πρῶτον ἀρξώμεθα ζητεῦν εἴτε ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' ἔστιν, εἴτε, ὡς ἐγώ φημι, πλάσματα 3 ὑμέτερα; αἱ δὲ δὴ συνάδουσαι τοῖς ξενικοῖς γράμμασι μηνύσεις παρὰ τῶν ἐνθάδε τίνες τ' εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπὸ τίνων γενόμεναι; τί κρύπτετε τὰς πίστεις, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἄγετε; ἀλλ' οἷμαι τῶν μήτε γενομένων μήτε ἐσομένων ἀδύνατον εὑρεθῆναι πίστιν. ταῦτ' ἔστιν, ὡς βουλή, μηνύματα, οὐ κατὰ τούτων συνωμοσίας, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὑμῶν³ δόλου

¹ συνεδρεύοντας B : συμβουλεύοντας καὶ συνεδρεύοντας R.

² εὐγενεστάτων B : εὐαγεστάτων R. ³ ὑμῶν Λ : ἡμῶν B.

of them who are of the most noble birth and have opposed us the most, both older men and young, as persons we have discovered to be guilty of the charge. These men, then, in their fear of being condemned, will either come to terms with us to make no further opposition or else will be compelled to leave the city. By this means we shall thoroughly devastate the opposition.'

XIII. "These were their plans, senators, and during the time you saw them holding sessions this plot was being spun by them against the best of your members and this net was being woven against the noblest of the knights. To prove that this is true requires very few words on my part. For come, tell me, Verginius and you others who are to suffer these dreadful evils, who are the foreign friends from whom you received the letters? Where do they live? How did they become acquainted with you? Or by what means do they know what is being discussed here? Why do you defer naming these men and keep promising to do it later on, instead of having named them long since? And who is the man who brought the letters to you? Why do you not bring him before us, that we may begin first of all with him to pursue the inquiry whether these reports are true or, as I maintain, your own fictions? And the informations that come from persons here, which you say agree with the foreign letters, what are they and by whom given? Why do you conceal the proofs and not bring them to light? But I suspect it is impossible to find proof of such things as neither have happened nor will happen. These are indications, senators, not of a conspiracy against the tribunes here, but of treachery and an evil purpose against you

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

καὶ πονηρᾶς γνώμης, ἥτις κέχρηται κρύψαντες οὗτοι· τὰ γὰρ πράγματα αὐτὰ βοῶ. αἴτιοι δὲ οἱ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπιτρέφαντες αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ ἀνόητον τῆς ἀρχῆς μεγάλῃ καθοπλίσαντες ἔξουσίᾳ, ὅτε Κοῖντιον Καίσωνα τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ κρίνειν ἐπ' αἰτίαις ψευδέσιν εἰάσατε, καὶ τοσοῦτον φύλακα τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἀναρπαζόμενον¹ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν περιείδετε.

5 τοιγαροῦν οὐκέτι μετριάζουσιν οὐδὲ καθ' ἓνα τῶν εὐγενῶν περικόπτουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀθρόους² ἥδη περιβαλόντες τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐλαύνουσιν³ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς οὐδὲ ἀντειπεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦσιν οὐθένα ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολὰς ἄγοντες ὡς κοινωνοῦντα τῶν ἀπορρήτων δεδίττονται καὶ μισόδημον εὐθὺς εἶναι φασι, καὶ προλέγουσιν ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ὑφέξοντα τῶν 6 ἐνθάδε ρήθεντων δίκας. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἔτερος ἔσται καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότερος τοῖς λόγοις, νῦν δὲ συντεμῶ⁴ τὸν λόγον καὶ παύσομαι τὰ πλείω διατεινόμενος, φυλάττεσθαι ὑμῖν παραινῶν⁵ τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς συνταράπτοντας τὴν πόλιν καὶ μεγάλων ἐκφέροντας⁶ ἀρχὰς κακῶν· καὶ οὐκ ἐνθάδε μὲν ταῦτα λέγω, πρὸς δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἀποκρύψομαι, ἀλλὰ κάκει παρρησίᾳ δικαίᾳ χρήσομαι, διδάσκων ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπικρέμαται δεινὸν ὅτι μὴ κακοὶ καὶ δόλιοι προστάται πολεμίων ἔργα ἐν προσποιήματι φίλων διαπρατόμενοι.”

7 Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ ὑπάτου κραυγή τε καὶ πολὺς ἔπαινος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐγένετο,⁷ καὶ οὐδὲ λόγου

¹ Hertlein, Cobet : ἀρπαζόμενον Ο.

² Kiessling : ἀθρώως Ο.

³ Cobet : ἔλκουσιν Ο.

⁴ συντεμῶ Steph. : συντέμω ΑΒ.

⁵ Kiessling : παραινῶ Ο.

which these men have been secretly cherishing. For the facts themselves cry aloud. But you senators are to blame for this, since you made the first concessions to them and armed their senseless magistracy with great power when you permitted Caeso Quintius to be tried by them last year on false charges and permitted so great a defender of the aristocracy to be destroyed by them. For this reason they no longer show any moderation nor do they lop off the men of birth one by one, but are already rounding up the good men *en masse* and expelling them from the city. And, in addition to all the other evils, they demand that no one of you even speak in opposition to them, but by exposing him to suspicions and accusations as an accomplice in those secret plots they try to terrify him and promptly call him an enemy of the populace and cite him to appear before their assembly to stand trial for what he has said here. But another occasion will be more suitable for discussing this matter. For the present I will curtail my remarks and will cease running on at greater length, merely advising you to guard against these men as disturbers of the commonwealth and as publishing¹ the germs of great evils. And not here alone do I say these things, while intending to conceal them from the populace ; on the contrary, I shall there also employ a frankness that is merited, showing them that no mischief hangs over their heads unless it be wicked and deceitful leaders who under the guise of friendship are doing the deeds of enemies."

When the consul had thus spoken, there was shouting and much applause by all present ; and without

¹ Or, following Kiessling's emendation, " introducing."

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τοῖς δημιάρχοις ἔτι μεταδόντες διέλυσαν τὸν σύλλογον. ἐπειθ' ὁ μὲν Οὐεργίνιος ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγών κατηγόρει τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων, ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος ἀπελογεῖτο τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους διεξιὼν οὓς εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπιεικέστεροι τῶν δημοτικῶν κενὸν ὑπώπτευον εἶναι τὸν φόβον, οἱ δὲ εὐηθέστεροι πιστεύοντες ταῖς φήμαις ἀληθῆ· ὅσοι δὲ κακοήθεις ἦσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ μεταβολῆς ἀεὶ δεόμενοι, τοῦ μὲν ἐξετάζειν τάληθὲς ἢ τὸ ψεῦδος¹ οὐκ εἶχον πρόνοιαν, ἀφορμὴν δὲ διχοστασίας ἔζήτουν καὶ θορύβου.

XIV. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ ταραχῇ τῆς πόλεως οὕσης ἀνήρ τις ἐκ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἔθνους πατέρων τε οὐκ ἀφανῶν καὶ χρήμασι δυνατός, Ἀππιος Ἐρδώνιος ὄνομα, καταλῦσαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἐπεβάλετο εἴθ' ἔαυτῷ τυραννίδα κατασκευαζόμενος εἴτε τῷ Σαβίνων ἔθνει πράττων ἀρχὴν καὶ κράτος εἴτ' ὄνόματος ἀξιωθῆναι βουλόμενος μεγάλου. κοινωσάμενος δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν φίλων ἦν εἶχε διάνοιαν καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἀφηγησάμενος, ἐπειδὴ κάκείνοις ἐδόκει, συνήθροιζε τοὺς πελάτας καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων οὓς εἶχε τοὺς² εὔτολμοτάτους· καὶ δι' ὀλίγου χρόνου συγκροτήσας δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν τετρακισχιλίων μάλιστα, ὅπλα τε καὶ τροφὰς καὶ τάλλα ὅσων δεῖ πολέμω πάντα εὐτρεπισάμενος, εἰς 2 σκάφας ποταμηγοὺς ἐνεβάλετο. πλεύσας δὲ διὰ τοῦ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ προσέσχε τῆς Ῥώμης κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἔνθα τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἔστιν οὐδ' ὅλον στάδιον ἀπέχον τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ἦσαν δὲ μέσαι τημικαῦτα νύκτες, καὶ πολλὴ καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν

¹ ἢ τὸ ψεῦδος Cary : ἢ ψεῦδος O, Jacoby, om. Cobet.

² τοὺς Reiske : om. O, Jacoby.

even permitting the tribunes to reply, they dismissed the session. Then Verginius, calling an assembly of the populace, inveighed against both the senate and the consuls, and Claudius defended them, repeating the same things he had said in the senate. The more fair-minded among the plebeians suspected that their fear was unwarranted, while the more simple-minded, giving credence to the reports, thought it real; but all among them who were ill-disposed and were forever craving a change did not have the foresight to examine into the truth or falsehood of the reports, but sought an occasion for sedition and tumult.

XIV. While the city was in such turmoil,¹ a man of the Sabine race, of no obscure birth and powerful because of his wealth, Appius Herdonius by name, attempted to overthrow the supremacy of the Romans, with a view either of making himself tyrant or of winning dominion and power for the Sabine nation or else of gaining a great name for himself. Having revealed his purpose to many of his friends and explained to them his plan for executing it, and having received their approval, he assembled his clients and the most daring of his servants and in a short time got together a force of about four thousand men. Then, after supplying them with arms, provisions and everything else that is needed for war, he embarked them on river-boats and, sailing down the river Tiber, landed at that part of Rome where the Capitol stands, not a full stade distant from the river. It was then midnight and there was profound quiet throughout

¹ For chaps. 14-16 cf. Livy iii. 15, 5-18, 11.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἥσυχία, ἦν συνεργὸν λαβὼν ἔξεβίβασε τοὺς ἄνδρας κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀκλείστων πυλῶν (εἰσὶ γάρ τινες Ἱεραὶ πύλαι τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατά τι θέσφατον ἀνειμέναι, Καρμεντίδας¹ αὐτὰς καλοῦσιν) ἀναβιβάσας τὴν δύναμιν εἶλε² τὸ φρούριον. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν ὡσάμενος—ἔστι δὲ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ 3 προσεχῆς—κάκείνης ἐγεγόνει κύριος. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦ γνώμη μετὰ τὸ κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐπικαιροτάτων τόπων τούς τε φυγάδας εἰσδέχεσθαι καὶ τοὺς δούλους εἰς ἐλευθερίαν καλεῖν καὶ χρεῶν ἄφεσιν ὑπισχνεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀπόροις τούς τε ἄλλους πολίτας, οἵ ταπεινὰ πράττοντες διὰ φθόνου καὶ μίσους εἶχον τὰς ὑπεροχὰς καὶ μεταβολῆς ἄσμενοι ἂν ἐλάβοντο, κοινωνοὺς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν ὠφελειῶν. ἡ δὲ θαρρεῦν τε αὐτὸν ἐπαγομένη καὶ πλανῶσα ἐλπίς, ὡς οὐθενὸς ἀτυχήσοντα τῶν προσδοκωμένων, ἡ πολιτικὴ στάσις ἦν, δι' ἣν οὔτε φιλίαν οὔτε κοινωνίαν οὐδεμίαν³ ὑπελάμβανε τῷ δῆμῳ πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους ἔπι 4 γενήσεσθαι. ἐὰν δὲ ἄρα μηθὲν αὐτῷ τούτων κατὰ νοῦν χωρῆ, τηνικαῦτα Σαβίνους τε πανστρατιᾶ καλεῖν ἐδέδοκτο καὶ Οὐδολούσκους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλησιοχώρων ὄσοις ἂν ἢ βουλομένοις ἀπηλλάχθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφθόνου ἀρχῆς.

XV. Συνέβη δὲ αὐτῷ πάντων διαμαρτεῦν ὃν ἥλπισεν οὔτε δούλων αὐτομολησάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν οὔτε φυγάδων κατελθόντων οὔτε ἀτίμων καὶ καταχρέων τὸ ἴδιον κέρδος ἀντὶ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος ἀλλαξαμένων, τῆς τε ἔξωθεν ἐπικουρίας οὐ λαβούσης χρόνον ἵκανὸν εἰς παρασκευὴν τοῦ πολέμου.

¹ Kiessling (*cf. Plut. Cam. 25, 2*) : καρμεντίνας Ο.

² Kiessling : εἶχε Ο, Jacoby.

³ οὐδεμίαν om. B.

the entire city ; with this to help him he disembarked his men in haste, and passing through the gate which was open (for there is a certain sacred gate of the Capitol, called the porta Carmentalis, which by the direction of some oracle is always left open), he ascended the hill with his troops and captured the fortress. From there he pushed on to the citadel, which adjoins the Capitol, and took possession of that also. It was his intention, after seizing the most advantageous positions, to receive the exiles, to summon the slaves to liberty, to promise the needy an abolition of debts, and to share the spoils with any other citizens who, being themselves of low condition, envied and hated those of lofty station and would have welcomed a change. The hope that both inspired him with confidence and deceived him, by leading him to believe that he should fail of none of his expectations, was based on the civil dissension, because of which he imagined that neither any friendship nor any intercourse would any longer exist between the populace and the patricians. And if none of these expectations should turn out according to his wish, he had resolved in that event to call in not only the Sabines with all their forces, but also the Volscians and as many from the other neighbouring peoples as desired to be delivered from the hated domination of the Romans.

XV. It so happened, however, that all his hopes were disappointed ; for neither the slaves deserted to him nor did the exiles return nor did the unenfranchised and the debtors seek their private advantage at the expense of the public good, and the reinforcements from outside did not have time enough to pre-

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τρισὶ γὰρ ἦ τέτταρσι ταῖς πάσαις¹ ἡμέραις τέλος
 εἰλήφει τὰ πράγματα μέγα δέος καὶ πολλὴν ταρα-
 χὴν Ῥωμαίοις παρασχόντα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔάλω τὰ
 φρούρια, κραυγῆς ἄφνω γενομένης καὶ φυγῆς τῶν
 περὶ ἐκείνους οἰκούντων τοὺς τόπους ὅσοι μὴ
 παραχρῆμα ἐσφάγησαν, ἀγνοοῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ
 δεινὸν ὃ τι ποτ’ ἦν, ἀρπάσαντες τὰ ὅπλα συνέτρε-
 χον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα χωρία τῆς πόλεως, οἱ
 δ’ εἰς τοὺς ἀναπεπταμένους αὐτῆς τόπους πολλοὺς
 σφόδρα ὄντας, οἱ δ’ εἰς τὰ παρακείμενα πεδία·
 ὅσοι δ’ ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ παρηκμακότι ἦσαν καὶ ρώ-
 μης σώματος ἐν τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ τὰ τέγη τῶν οἰκιῶν
 κατεῖχον ἅμα γυναιξὶν ὡς ἀπὸ τούτων ἀγωνιού-
 μενοι πρὸς τοὺς εἰσεληλυθότας· ἅπαντα γὰρ αὐτοῖς
 3 ἐδόκει μεστὰ εἶναι πολέμου. ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης
 ὡς ἐγνώσθη τὰ κεκρατημένα τῆς πόλεως φρούρια
 καὶ ὅστις ἦν ὃ κατέχων ἀνὴρ τοὺς τόπους, οἱ μὲν
 ὑπατοὶ προελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκάλουν τοὺς
 πολίτας ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, οἱ δὲ δῆμαρχοι προσκαλεσά-
 μενοι τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἔλεγον ὅτι τῷ μὲν
 συμφέροντι τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν ἀξιοῦσι πράττειν ἐν-
 αντίον, δίκαιοι δὲ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν εἶναι τηλικοῦ-
 τον ἀγῶνα μέλλοντα τὸν δῆμον ὑπομένειν ἐπὶ ρήτοῦς
 τισι καὶ διωρισμένοις ἐπὶ τὸ κινδύνευμα χωρεῖν.
 4 “Εἰ μὲν οὖν,” ἔφασαν λέγοντες, “ὑπισχνοῦνται
 τε ὑμῖν οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ πίστεις βούλονται δοῦναι
 τὰς ἐπὶ θεῶν ὅτι καταλυθέντος τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου
 συγχωρήσουσιν ὑμῖν ἀποδεῖξαι νομοθέτας καὶ τὸν
 λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐν ἴσηγορίᾳ πολιτεύεσθαι, συνελευ-
 θερῶμεν αὐτοῖς τὴν πατρίδα· εἰ δὲ οὐθὲν ἀξιοῦσι
 ποιεῖν τῶν μετρίων, τί κινδυνεύομεν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προϊέμεθα μηθενὸς ἀγαθοῦ μέλλοντες

pare for war, since within three or four days all told the affair was at an end, after causing the Romans great fear and turmoil. For upon the capture of the fortresses, followed by a sudden outcry and flight of all those living near those places—save those who were slain at once—the mass of the citizens, not knowing what the peril was, seized their arms and rushed together, some hastening to the heights of the city, others to the open places, which were very numerous, and still others to the plains near by. Those who were past the prime of life and were incapacitated in bodily strength occupied the roofs of the houses together with the women, thinking to fight from there against the invaders ; for they imagined that every part of the city was full of fighting. But when it was day and it came to be known what fortresses of the city were taken and who the person was who had possession of them, the consuls, going into the Forum, called the citizens to arms. The tribunes, however, summoned the populace to an assembly and declared that, while they did not care to do anything opposed to the advantage of the commonwealth, they thought it just, when the populace were going to undertake so great a struggle, that they should go to meet the danger upon fixed and definite terms. “ If, therefore,” they went on to say, “ the patricians will promise you, and are willing to give pledges, confirmed by oaths, that as soon as this war is over they will allow you to appoint lawgivers and for the future to enjoy equal rights in the government, let us assist them in freeing the fatherland. But if they consent to no reasonable conditions, why do we incur danger and give up our lives for them, when we are to reap

¹ πάσαις Naber : πρώταις O, Jacoby.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

5 ἀπολαύσεσθαι; ” ταῦτα λεγόντων αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ δῆμου πειθομένου καὶ μηδὲ φωνὴν ὑπομένοντος ἀκούειν τῶν ἄλλο τι παραινούντων ὁ μὲν Κλαύδιος οὐθὲν ἡξίον δεῖσθαι τοιαύτης¹ συμμαχίας, ἵτις οὐχ ἔκούσιος ἄλλ’ ἐπὶ μισθῷ καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ μετριώ βοηθεῦν βούλεται τῇ πατρίδι, ἄλλ’ αὐτοὺς ἔφη τοὺς πατρικίους ἔαυτῶν σώμασι καὶ τῶν συνόντων αὐτοῖς πελατῶν ὁπλισαμένους, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐθελούσιον αὐτοῖς συναρεῖται² τοῦ πολέμου, μετὰ τούτων πολιορκεῦν τὰ φρούρια· ἐὰν δὲ μηδ’ οὕτως ἀξιόχρεως ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῖς εἶναι δοκῇ, Λατίνους τε καὶ Ἔρνικας παρακαλεῖν, ἐὰν δ’ ἀνάγκη, καὶ δούλοις ἐλευθερίαν ὑπισχνεῖσθαι καὶ πάντας μᾶλλον ἥ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοιούτων καιρῶν μητσικακοῦντας σφίσι 6 παρακαλεῖν. ὁ δ’ ἔτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Οὐαλέριος ἀντέλεγε πρὸς ταῦτα οὐκ οἰόμενος δεῖν ἡρεθισμένον τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐκπολεμῶσαι τελέως τοῖς πατρικίοις, εἶξαί τε συνεβούλευε τῷ καιρῷ καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἔξωθεν πολεμίους³ τά γε δίκαια ἀντιτάττειν, πρὸς δὲ τὰς πολιτικὰς διατριβὰς⁴ τὰ μέτρια καὶ εὐγνώμονα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὰ κράτιστα ἐδόκει λέγειν, προελθὼν⁵ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ λόγον εὐπρεπῆ διεξελθὼν τελευτῶν τῆς δημηγορίας ὕμοσεν, ἐὰν ὁ δῆμος συνάρηται μετὰ προθυμίας τοῦ πολέμου καὶ καταστῇ τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως, συγχωρήσειν τοῖς δημάρχοις προθεῖναι⁶ τῷ πλήθει τὴν περὶ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν

¹ τοιαύτης B : τῆς τοιαύτης R.

² συναρεῖται Ba (?) : συνάρηται ABb.

³ πολέμους Kiessling.

⁴ διαφορὰς ορ παρατριβὰς Reiske, ἔριδας Cobet.

⁵ προελθὼν B : παρελθὼν R.

⁶ προθεῖναι Ba : προσθεῖναι R.

no advantage?" While they were speaking thus and the people were persuaded and would not listen to even a word from those who offered any other advice, Claudius declared that he had no use for such allies, who were not willing to come to the aid of the fatherland voluntarily, but only for a reward, and that no moderate one; but the patricians by themselves, he said, taking up arms in their own persons and in the persons of the clients who adhered to them, joined also by any of the plebeians who would voluntarily assist them in the war, must with these besiege the fortresses. And if even so their force should seem to them inadequate, they must call on the Latins and the Hernicans, and, if necessary, must promise liberty to the slaves and invite all sorts of people rather than those who harboured a grudge against them in times like these. But the other consul, Valerius, opposed this, believing that they ought not to render the plebeians, who were already exasperated, absolutely implacable against the patricians; and he advised them to yield to the situation, and while arraying against their foreign foes the demands of strict justice, to combat the long-winded discourses of their fellow citizens with terms of moderation and reasonableness. When the majority of the senators decided that his advice was the best, he appeared before the popular assembly and made a decorous speech, at the end of which he swore that if the people would assist in this war with alacrity and conditions in the city should become settled, he would permit the tribunes to lay before the populace for decision the law which they were trying to introduce concerning an equality

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ὅν εἰσέφερον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἴστονομίας, καὶ σπουδάσειν
ὅπως ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τέλος ἀχθῆ τὰ
δόξαντα τῷ δήμῳ. ἦν δὲ ἄρα οὐθὲν αὐτῷ πε-
πρωμένον ἐπιτελέσαι τῶν διμολογηθέντων πλησίον
οὗσης τῆς τοῦ θανάτου μοίρας.

XVI. Λυθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας περὶ δεῖλην
ὁψίαν συνέρρεον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποδειχθέντας ἕκαστοι
τόπους, ἀπογραφόμενοί τε πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τὰ
ὄνόματα καὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὅμινύντες ὄρκον.
ἔκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα
ὅλην ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἥσαν, τῇ δ' ἔξῆς ἡμέρᾳ λοχαγοί
τε προσενέμοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ ἐπὶ¹ τὰς
ἱερὰς ἐτάττοντο σημείας, συνεπιρρέοντος καὶ τοῦ
2 κατ' ἀγροὺς διατρίβοντος ὄχλου. γενομένων δὲ διὰ
τάχους ἀπάντων² εὐτρεπῶν μερισάμενοι τὰς δυνά-
μεις οἱ ὑπατοι κλήρῳ διείλοντο τὰς ἀρχάς. Κλαυ-
δίω μὲν οὖν ὁ κλῆρος ἀπέδωκε τὰ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν
διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν, μὴ τις ἔξωθεν ἐπέλθῃ στρατιὰ
τοῖς ἔνδον ἐπίκουρος· ὑποψία γάρ ἀπαντας κατεῖχε
μεγάλης σφόδρα κινήσεως, καὶ τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἅπαν
ώς ὁμοῦ συνεπιθησόμενον σφίσιν ἐφοβοῦντο· Οὐα-
λερίω δὲ τὰ φρούρια πολιορκεῖν ὁ δαίμων ἐφῆκεν.
3 ἐτάχθησαν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐρύμασιν ἡγε-
μόνες ὅσα τῆς πόλεως ἐντὸς ἦν καθέξοντες, καὶ
κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀγούσας ὅδοὺς ἔτεροι
κωλύσεως ἔνεκεν τῶν ἀποστησομένων πρὸς τοὺς
πολεμίους δούλων τε καὶ ἀπόρων, ὃ γε³ παντὸς
μάλιστα ἐφοβοῦντο. ἐπικουρικὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν
ἔφθασε παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἀφικόμενον ὅτι μὴ
παρὰ Τυσκλανῶν μόνον ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ ἀκουσάντων
τε καὶ παρασκευασμένων, οὓς ἦγε Λεύκιος Μαρί-

¹ ὑπὸ Sylburg.

² Kiessling : πάντων Ο, Jacoby.

of laws, and would use his utmost endeavours that their vote should be carried into effect during his consulship. But it was fated, it seems, that he should perform none of these promises, the doom of death being near at hand for him.

XVI. After the assembly had been dismissed in the late afternoon, they all flocked to their appointed places, giving in their names to the generals and taking the military oath. During that day, then, and all the following night they were thus employed. The next day the centurions were assigned by the consuls to their commands and to the sacred standards ; and the crowd which lived in the country also in great numbers flocked in. Everything being soon made ready, the consuls divided the forces and drew lots for their commands. It fell to the lot of Claudius to keep guard before the walls, lest some army from outside should come to the relief of the enemy in the city ; for everybody suspected that there would be a very serious turmoil, and they feared that all their foes would fall upon them at the same time with united forces. To Valerius Fortune assigned the siege of the fortresses. Commanders were appointed to occupy the other strong places also that lay within the city, and others were posted in the streets leading to the Capitol, to prevent the slaves and the poor from going over to the enemy—the thing of which they were most afraid. No assistance reached them in time from any of their allies save only from the Tusculans,¹ who, the same night they heard of the invasion, had made ready to march, their com-

¹ For the part played by the Tusculans cf. Livy iii. 18, 1-7, 10.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

λιος, ἀνὴρ δραστήριος, ἔχων τὴν μεγίστην ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ἀρχήν· καὶ συνεκινδύνευον οὗτοι τῷ Οὐαλερίῳ μόνοι καὶ συνεξεῖλον τὰ φρούρια πᾶσαν 4 εὔνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν ἀποδειξάμενοι. ἐγένετο¹ δὲ ἡ προσβολὴ τοῖς φρουρίοις πανταχόθεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίον οἰκιῶν ἀσφάλτου καὶ πίσσης πεπυρωμένης ἀγγεῖα σφενδόναις ἐναρμόττοντες ἐπέβαλλον ὑπὲρ τῶν λόφων². οἱ δὲ συμφοροῦντες³ αὖν⁴ φακέλλους φρυγάνων καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀποτόμοις τῆς πέτρας θωμοὺς⁵ ἐγείροντες ὑψηλοὺς ὑφῆπτον ἀνέμω παραδιδόντες τὰς φλόγας ἐπιφόρῳ. ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀνδρειότατοι, πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους ἔχώρουν ἄνω κατὰ τὰς χειροποιήτους ὁδούς.
 5 ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς οὕτε τοῦ πλήθους, ὥς παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἀντιπάλων προεἶχον, ὕφελος οὐθὲν διὰ στενῆς ἀνιοῦσιν ὁδοῦ καὶ πληθούσης προβόλων ἄνωθεν ἐπικαταραττομένων, ἔνθα συνεξισωθήσεσθαι ἔμελλε τῷ πολλῷ τὸ ὀλίγον· οὕτε τῆς παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ὑπομονῆς, ἦν πολλοῖς κατασκήσαντες⁶ πολέμοις εἶχον, οὐδεμίᾳ δὲ σημειώσαντες πρὸς ὄρθίους βιαζομένοις σκοπάς. οὐ γὰρ συστάδην μαχομένους ἔδει τὸ εὔτολμον καὶ καρτερικὸν ἀποδείξασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκηβόλοις χρῆσθαι
 6 μάχαις. ἦσαν δὲ τῶν μὲν κάτωθεν ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα βαλλομένων βραδεῖαι τε καὶ ἀσθενεῖς, εἰ καὶ τύχοιεν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, αἱ πληγαί· τῶν δὲ ἀφ' ὕψους κάτω ρίπτουμένων ὀξεῖαι καὶ καρτεραὶ συν-

¹ ἐγένετο Α : ἐγένετο Β.

² ὑπὲρ τῶν λόφων Β : ὑπὲρ τὸν λόφον R (?), Jacoby, ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον Reiske. ³ συμφοροῦντες Α : συμφέροντες Β.

⁴ αὖν Kiessling : αὐτῶν Α, om. Β.

⁵ θωμοὺς Capps : βωμοὺς O, Jacoby.

mander being Lucius Mamilius, a man of action, who held the chief magistracy in their city at that time. These alone shared the danger with Valerius and aided him in capturing the fortresses, displaying all goodwill and alacrity. The fortresses were attacked from all sides ; some of the attackers, fitting vessels of bitumen and burning pitch to their slings, hurled them over the hills from the roofs of neighbouring houses, and others, gathering bundles of dry faggots, raised lofty heaps of them against the steep parts of the cliff and set them on fire when they could commit the flames to a favourable wind. All the bravest of the troops, closing their ranks, went up by the roads that had been built to the summits. But neither their numbers, in which they were greatly superior to the enemy, were of any service to them when they were ascending by a narrow road, full of broken fragments of rock that came crashing down upon them from above, where a small body of men would be a match for a large one ; nor was their constancy in dangers, which they had acquired by their training in many wars, of any advantage to them when forcing their way up steep heights. For it was not a situation that called for the display of the daring and perseverance of hand-to-hand fighting, but rather for the tactics of fighting with missiles. Moreover, the blows made by missiles shot from below up to lofty targets were slow on arrival and ineffective, naturally, even if they hit their mark, while the blows of missiles hurled down from above came with high speed and violence, the very weight of the weapons contributing to the

⁶ κατασκήσαντες Post, ἀσκήσαντες Kiessling : καταστήσαντες O, Jacoby.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

εργούντων τοῖς βλήμασι καὶ τῶν ἰδίων βαρῶν.¹ οὐ μὴν ἔκαμνόν γε οἱ προσβάλλοντες τοῖς ἐρύμασιν, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρουν ἀναγκοφαγοῦντες² τὰ δεινὰ οὕτε ἡμέρας οὕτε νυκτὸς ἀναπαυόμενοι τῶν πόνων. τέλος δ' οὖν ὑπολιπόντων τοὺς πολιορκουμένους τῶν βελῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἐξαδυνατούντων τρίτη
 7 τὰ φρούρια ἐξεπολιόρκησαν ἡμέρᾳ. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ πολλοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἄγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπέβαλον, κράτιστον δέ, ὥσπερ πρὸς ἀπάντων ὀμολόγητο,³ τὸν ὑπατὸν· ὃς οὐκ ὀλίγα τραύματα λαβὼν οὐδὲ ὡς ἀφίστατο τῶν δεινῶν ἔως ἐπικαταραγεῖς⁴ αὐτῷ πέτρος ὑπερμεγέθης ἐπιβαίνοντι τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἅμα τὴν τε νίκην αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο καὶ τὴν ψυχήν. ἀλισκομένων δὲ τῶν φρουρίων ὁ μὲν Ἐρδώνιος, ἦν γὰρ καὶ ῥώμη σώματος διάφορος καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖος, ἀπιστόν τι χρῆμα περὶ αὐτὸν ποιήσας νεκρῶν ὑπὸ πλήθους βελῶν ἀποθήσκει, τῶν δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ φρούρια καταλαβούμένων ὀλίγοι μέν τινες ζῶντες ἔάλωσαν, οἱ δὲ πλείους σφάττοντες ἑαυτὸὺς ἦ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ὠθοῦντες διεφθάρησαν.

XVII. Τοῦτο τὸ τέλος λαβόντος τοῦ ληστρικοῦ πολέμου τὴν πολιτικὴν πάλιν ἀνερρίπιζον⁵ οἱ δήμαρχοι στάσιν ἀξιοῦντες ἀπολαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ περιόντος ὑπάτου τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἃς ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ τεθνηκὼς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Οὐαλέριος ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰσφορᾶς τοῦ νόμου. ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος μέχρι μέν τινος παρεῖλκε τὸν χρόνον, τοτὲ μὲν καθαρμοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτελῶν, τοτὲ δὲ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς χα-

¹ βαρῶν B : βαρημάτων R.

² Cobet : ἀναγκοφοροῦντες O.

³ ὀμολογεῖτο Naber.

force with which they were thrown. Nevertheless, the men attacking the ramparts were not discouraged, but bravely endured the hard rations of unavoidable dangers, ceasing not from their toils either by day or by night. At last, when the missiles of the besieged gave out and their strength failed them, the Romans reduced the fortresses on the third day. In this action they lost many brave men, among them the consul, who was universally acknowledged to have been the best of them all; he, even after he had received many wounds, did not retire from danger until a huge rock, crashing down upon him as he was mounting the outer wall, snatched from him at once the victory and his life. As the fortresses were being taken, Herdonius, who was remarkable for his physical strength and brave in action, after piling up an incredible heap of dead bodies about him, perished under a multitude of missiles. Of those who had aided him in seizing the fortresses some few were taken alive, but the greater part either killed themselves with their swords or hurled themselves down the cliffs.

XVII. The war¹ with the brigands being thus ended, the tribunes rekindled the civil strife once more by demanding of the surviving consul the fulfilment of the promises made to them by Valerius, who perished in the fighting, with regard to the introduction of the law. But Claudius for a time kept procrastinating, now by performing lustrations for the city, now by offering sacrifices of thanksgiving to the

¹ Cf. Livy iii. 19, 1-3.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ριστηρίους ἀποδιδούς, τοτὲ δ' ἀγῶσι καὶ θέαις
 2 ἀναλαμβάνων τὸ πλῆθος εἰς εὐπαθείας. ὡς δ' αἱ
 σκήψεις αὐτῷ πᾶσαι κατανάλωντο, τελευτῶν ἔφη
 δεῖν εἰς τὸν τοῦ τεθνηκότος ὑπάτου τόπον ἔτερον
 ἀποδειχθῆναι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου πραχ-
 θέντα οὕτε νόμιμα οὕτε βέβαια ἔσεσθαι, τὰ δ' ὑπ'
 ἀμφοῖν ἔννομά τε καὶ κύρια. ταύτη διακρουσάμενος
 αὐτοὺς τῇ προφάσει προεῖπεν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἡμέραν
 ἐν ᾧ τὸν συνάρχοντα ἔμελλεν ἀποδεῖξειν. ἐν δὲ
 τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ δι' ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων οἱ
 προεστηκότες τοῦ συνεδρίου συνέθεντο κατὰ σφᾶς
 3 αὐτοὺς ὅτῳ παραδώσουσι τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ ἐπει-
 δὴ¹ δ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἐνέστη χρόνος καὶ δ κῆρυξ
 τὴν πρώτην τάξιν ἐκάλεσεν, εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸν
 ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον οἵ τ' ὁκτωκαΐδεκα λόχοι τῶν
 ἵππεων καὶ οἱ τῶν πεζῶν ὄγδοήκοντα τῶν τὸ μέ-
 γιστον τίμημα ἔχόντων Λεύκιον Κοῖντιον Κικιν-
 νάτον ἀποδεικνύουσιν ὕπατον, οὗ τὸν υἱὸν Καίσωνα
 Κοῖντιον εἰς ἀγῶνα θανάτου καταστήσαντες οἱ
 δῆμαρχοι τὴν πόλιν ἡνάγκασαν ἐκλιπεῖν· καὶ οὐδε-
 μιᾶς ἔτι κληθείσης ἐπὶ τὴν ψηφοφορίαν τάξεως
 (τρισὶ γὰρ ἥσαν λόχοις πλείους οἱ διενέγκαντες τὴν
 ψῆφον λόχοι τῶν ὑπολειπομένων²) δ μὲν δῆμος
 ἀπῆγει συμφορὰν βαρεῖαν ἡγούμενος ὅτι μισῶν αὐ-
 τοὺς ἀνὴρ ἔξουσίας ὑπατικῆς ἔσται κύριος, ἡ βουλὴ
 δὲ ἔπειμπε τοὺς παραληψομένους τὸν ὕπατον³ καὶ
 4 ἄξοντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. ἔτυχε δὲ τηνικαῦτα δ Κοῖν-
 τιος ἄρουράν τινα ὑπεργαζόμενος εἰς σποράν, αὐτὸς
 ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς σχίζουσι τὴν νειὸν βοιδίοις ἀχίτων,

¹ καὶ ἐπειδὴ Β : ἐπειδὴ δὲ R.

² Kiessling : ἀπολειπομένων O.

³ ὕπατον O : ἄνδρα Kiessling.

gods, and again by entertaining the multitude with games and shows. When all his excuses had been exhausted, he finally declared that another consul must be chosen in place of the deceased ; for he said that the acts performed by him alone would be neither legal nor lasting, whereas those performed by two of them would be legitimate and valid. Having put them off with this pretence, he appointed a day for the election, when he would nominate his colleague. In the meantime the leading men of the senate, consulting together in private, agreed among themselves upon the person to whom they would entrust the magistracy. And when the day appointed for the election had come and the herald had called the first class, the eighteen centuries of knights together with the eighty centuries of foot, consisting of the wealthiest citizens, entering the appointed place, chose as consul Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, whose son Caeso Quintius the tribunes had brought to trial for his life and compelled to leave the city. And no other class being called to vote—for the centuries which had voted were three more in number than the remaining centuries—the populace departed, regarding it as a grievous misfortune that a man who hated them was to be possessed of the consular power. Meanwhile the senate sent men to invite the consul and to conduct him to the city to assume his magistracy. It chanced that Quintius was just then ploughing a piece of land for sowing,¹ he himself following the gaunt oxen that were breaking up the fallow ; he had no tunic on, wore a small loin-cloth

¹ Compare Livy's description (iii. 26, 8 ff.) of Cincinnatus' humble activities at the time of his appointment to the dictatorship ; see also *inf.* chaps. 23, 5-24, 2.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

περιζωμάτιον ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πῦλον. ἵδων δὲ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ χωρίον εἰσιόντων τό τε ἄροτρον ἐπέσχε καὶ πολὺν ἡπόρει χρόνον οἴτινές τε¹ εἶεν καὶ τίνος δεόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἥκοιεν. ἔπειτα προσδραμόντος τινὸς καὶ κελεύσαντος κοσμιώτερον ἑαυτὸν ποιῆσαι παρελθών εἰς τὴν καλύβην 5 καὶ ἀμφιεσάμενος προῆλθεν. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν παράληψιν αὐτοῦ παρόντες ἡσπάσαντό τε ἅπαντες οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος, ἀλλ’ ὑπατον, καὶ τὴν περιπόρφυρον ἐσθῆτα περιέθεσαν τούς τε πελέκεις καὶ τὰλλα παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς παραστήσαντες ἀκολουθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡξίουν. κάκεῖνος μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν καὶ δακρύσας² τοσοῦτον εἶπεν· “”Ασπορον ἄρα μοι τὸ χωρίον ἔσται τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, καὶ κινδυνεύσομεν οὐχ ἔξειν πόθεν διατραφῶμεν.”” ἔπειτα ἀσπασάμενος τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τῶν ἔνδον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι 6 παραγγείλας ὥχετο εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα. δὲ οὐχ ἔτέρου τινὸς χάριν εἰπεῖν προήχθην, ἀλλ’ ἵνα φανερὸν γένηται πᾶσιν οἷοι τότε ἥσαν οἱ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως προεστηκότες, ὡς αὐτουργοὶ καὶ σώφρονες καὶ πενίαν δικαίαν οὐ βαρυνόμενοι καὶ βασιλικὰς οὐ διώκοντες ἔξουσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδομένας ἀναινόμενοι· φανήσονται γὰρ οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐοικότες ἐκείνοις οἱ νῦν, ἀλλὰ τάναντία πάντα ἐπιτηδεύοντες, πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων, δι’ οὓς ἔστηκεν ἔτι τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ σώζειν τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁμοιότητα. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλις.

XVIII. ‘Ο δὲ Κοῖντιος παραλαβὼν τὴν ὑπατείαν πρῶτον μὲν ἔπαυσε τοὺς δημάρχους τῶν καινῶν πολιτευμάτων καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ σπουδῆς, πρ-

¹ τε B : om. R.

² Cohet : διαδακρύσας Ο.

and had a cap upon his head. Upon seeing a crowd of people come into the field he stopped his plough and for a long time was at a loss to know who they were or what they wanted of him ; then, when some one ran up to him and bade him make himself more presentable, he went into the cottage and after putting on his clothes came out to them. Thereupon the men who were sent to escort him all greeted him, not by his name, but as consul ; and clothing him with the purple-bordered robe and placing before him the axes and the other insignia of his magistracy, they asked him to follow them to the city. And he, pausing for a moment and shedding tears, said only this : “ So my field will go unsown this year, and we shall be in danger of not having enough to live on.” Then he kissed his wife, and charging her to take care of things at home, went to the city. I am led to relate these particulars for no other reason than to let all the world see what kind of men the leaders of Rome were at that time, that they worked with their own hands, led frugal lives, did not chafe under honourable poverty, and, far from aiming at positions of royal power, actually refused them when offered. For it will be seen that the Romans of to-day do not bear the least resemblance to them, but follow the very opposite practices in everything—with the exception of a very few by whom the dignity of the commonwealth is still maintained and a resemblance to those men preserved. But enough on this subject.

XVIII. Quintius,¹ having succeeded to the consulship, caused the tribunes to desist from their new measures and from their insistence upon the proposed

¹ For chaps. 18 f. *cf.* Livy iii. 19, 4—21, 8.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ειπὼν ὡς εἰ μὴ παύσονται ταράττοντες τὴν πόλιν
 ἀπάξει Ῥωμαίους ἄπαντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως στρα-
 2 τείαν κατὰ Οὐδούσκων παραγγεῖλας. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 κωλύσειν αὐτὸν ἔλεγον οἱ δήμαρχοι στρατοῦ ποι-
 εῖσθαι καταγραφήν, συναγαγὼν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς
 ἐκκλησίαν εἶπεν ὅτι πάντες ὁμωμόκασι τὸν στρατι-
 ωτικὸν ὄρκον ἀκολουθήσειν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐφ' οὓς
 ἂν καλῶνται πολέμους καὶ μήτε ἀπολεύψειν τὰ
 σημεῖα μήτε ἄλλο πράξειν μηθὲν ἐναντίον τῷ νόμῳ·
 παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἔξουσίαν αὐτὸς ἔχειν
 3 ἐφη κρατουμένους ἄπαντας τοῖς ὄρκοις. εἰπὼν δὲ
 ταῦτα καὶ διομοσάμενος χρήσεσθαι¹ τῷ νόμῳ κατὰ
 τῶν ἀπειθούντων ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῶν Ἱερῶν τὰ σημεῖα
 καταφέρειν· “Καὶ ἵνα,” ἔφη, “πᾶσαν ἀπογνώτε
 δημαγωγίαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπατείας, οὐ πρότερον
 ἀναστήσω τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας πρὶν ἢ πᾶς
 ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς μοι διέλθῃ χρόνος. ὡς οὖν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ
 χειμάσοντες παρασκευάσασθε τὰ εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν
 4 καιρὸν ἐπιτήδεια.” τούτοις καταπληξάμενος αὐ-
 τοὺς τοῖς λόγοις, ἐπειδὴ κοσμιωτέρους εἶδε γεγονό-
 τας καὶ δεομένους ἀφεθῆναι τῆς στρατείας, ἐπὶ
 τούτοις ἔφη χαριεῖσθαι τὰς ἀναπαύλας τῶν πολέ-
 μων, ἐφ' ὃ τε μηθὲν ἔτι παρακινεῖν αὐτούς, ἀλλ'
 ἔân αὐτὸν ὡς βούλεται τὴν ἀρχὴν τελεῖσθαι,² καὶ
 ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ δίκαια διδόναι τε καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ'
 ἀλλήλων.

XIX. Καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ θορύβου δικαστήριά
 τε ἀπεδίδου τοῖς δεομένοις ἐκ πολλῶν παρειλκυσ-
 μένα χρόνων, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐγκλημάτων
 αὐτὸς ἴσως καὶ δικαίως διέκρινε δι' ὅλης³ ἡμέρας

¹ Steph.² : χρήσασθαι Ο.

² τελέσαι Reiske.

law by announcing that if they did not cease disturbing the commonwealth he would give notice of an expedition against the Volscians and would lead all the Romans out of the city. When the tribunes said they would not permit him to enrol an army, he called an assembly of the populace and declared that since they had all taken the military oath, swearing that they would follow the consuls in any wars to which they should be called and would neither desert the standards nor do anything else contrary to law, and since he had assumed the consular power, he held them all bound to him by their oaths. Having said this and sworn that he would invoke the law against those who disobeyed, he ordered the standards to be brought out of the temples. "And to the end," he added, "that you may renounce all agitation by demagogues during my consulship, I will not withdraw the army from the enemy's country until my whole term of office has expired. Expect therefore, to pass the winter in the field and prepare everything necessary against that time." Having terrified them with these threats, when he saw that they had become more orderly and begged to be let off from the campaign, he said he would grant them a respite from war upon these conditions, that they create no more disturbances but allow him to administer his office as he wished to the end, and that in their dealings with one another they give as well as receive strict justice.

XIX. The tumult having been appeased, he restored to all plaintiffs recourse to courts of law, a matter for a long time delayed; and he himself decided most suits, with fairness and justice, sitting

³ ὅλης B : ὅλης τῆς R.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος καθεζόμενος, εὐπρόσοδόν τε καὶ πρᾶον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν ἀφικνουμένοις ἔαυτὸν παρεῖχε καὶ παρεσκεύασεν ἀριστοκρατικὴν οὕτως φανῆναι τὴν πολιτείαν ὥστε μήτε δημάρχων δεηθῆναι τοὺς διὰ πενίαν ἢ δυσγένειαν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ταπεινότητα ὑπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων κατισχυομένους μήτε καυῆς νομοθεσίας πόθον ἔχειν ἔτι τοὺς ἐν ἴσηγορίᾳ πολιτεύεσθαι βουλομένους,¹ ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν τε καὶ χαίρειν ἅπαντας ἐπὶ 2 τῇ τότε κατασχούσῃ τὴν πόλιν εὐνομίᾳ. ταῦτά τε δὴ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπηγεῖτο² ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸν ὀρισμένον ἐτέλεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον τὸ μὴ δέξασθαι τὴν ὑπατείαν διδομένην τὸ δεύτερον μηδὲ ἀγαπῆσαι τηλικαύτην λαμβάνοντα τιμήν. 3 κατεῖχε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἔξουσίας ἡ βουλὴ πολλὰς προσφέρουσα δεήσεις, ἐπεὶ τὸ τρίτον οἱ δήμαρχοι διεπράξαντο μὴ ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς ἐναντιωσόμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ παύσοντα τῶν καινῶν πολιτευμάτων, τὰ μὲν αἰδοῖ, τὰ δὲ φόβω, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ὁρῶσα οὐκ ἀναινόμενον ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἄρχεσθαι. ὁ δ' οὕτε τῶν δημάρχων ἐπαινεῖν ἔφη τὸ ἀπαραχώρητον τῆς ἔξουσίας οὕτε αὐτὸς εἰς 4 ὁμοίαν ἐκείνοις ἥξειν διαβολήν. συναγαγὼν δὲ τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλὴν κατηγορίαν τῶν οὐκ ἀποτιθεμένων τὰς ἀρχὰς διαθέμενος ὄρκους τε διομοσάμενος ἴσχυροὺς περὶ τοῦ μὴ λήψεσθαι πάλιν τὴν ὑπατείαν πρὶν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν προτέραν ἀρχήν, προεῖπεν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἡμέραν· ἐν ἦ καταστήσας

¹ πολιτεύεσθαι βουλομένους B : πολιτευομένους R.

² ἐπηγεῖτο B : ἐπηγεῖτο δ' R.

¹ "Aristocracy" is here used in its literal meaning of "government by the best (citizens)."

on the tribunal the whole day and showing himself easy of access, mild and humane to all who came to him for judgement. By this means he made the government seem so truly an aristocracy¹ that neither tribunes were needed by those who through poverty, humble birth or any other point of inferiority were oppressed by their superiors, nor was any desire for new legislation longer felt by those who wished for a government based on equal rights ; but all were contented and pleased with the law and order which then came to prevail in the commonwealth. Not only for these actions was Quintius praised by the populace, but also for refusing the consulship when, upon his completion of the appointed term of office, it was offered to him a second time, and for not even being pleased when that great honour was tendered him. For the senate attempted to retain him in the consulship, using many entreaties, because the tribunes for the third time had so managed that they did not have to lay down their office ; for they were confident that he would oppose the tribunes and make them drop their new measures, partly out of respect and partly out of fear, and they also saw that the populace did not refuse to be governed by a good man. But Quintius answered that he not only did not approve of this unwillingness on the part of the tribunes to give up their power, but he would not himself incur the same censure as they had. Then he called an assembly of the populace, and having inveighed in a long speech against those who would not resign their magistracies, and taken solemn oaths with reference to his refusal to take the consulship again before he had retired from his first term, he announced a day for the election ; then on the ap-

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ὑπάτους ἀπήει πάλιν εἰς τὸ μικρὸν ἐκεῖνο καλύβιον
καὶ τὸν αὐτουργὸν ἔξη βίον ὡς πρότερον.

XX. Κοῦντον δὲ Φαβίου Οὐιβολανοῦ παρειληφότος τὴν ὑπατείαν τὸ τρίτον καὶ Λευκίου Κορνηλίου καὶ τελούντων πατρίους ἀγῶνας Αἰκανῶν ἄνδρες ἐπίλεκτοι πλῆθος ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἔξακισχιλίους ὅπλισμῷ τ' εὐζώνῳ συνεσταλμένοι καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἔξοδον σκότους ἔτι ὄντος ἐπὶ πόλιν ἀφικνοῦνται Τυσκλανῶν, ᾧ ἐστι μὲν τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους, ἀφέστηκε δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης οὐκ ἔλαττον 2 σταδίων ἑκατόν. εὑρόντες δὲ ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ πύλας τε ἀκλείστους καὶ τεῖχος ἀφύλακτον αἱροῦσι τὴν πόλιν ἔξ ἐφόδου μνησικακοῦντες τοῖς Τυσκλανοῖς ὅτι τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει τά τε ἄλλα μετὰ προθυμίας συμπράττοντες διετέλουν καὶ ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοῦ 3 Καπιτωλίου μόνοι συνήραντο τοῦ πολέμου. ἄνδρας μὲν¹ οὖν οὐ² πολλούς τινας ἐν τῇ καταλήψει διέφθειραν, ἀλλ' ἔφθασαν ἥδη αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς πόλεως ὡσάμενοι δι' ἄλλων πυλῶν³ οἱ ἔνδον, χωρὶς ἥ ὅσοι ὑπὸ νόσων ἢ γήρως φυγεῖν ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδία καὶ θεράποντας αὐτῶν ἥντα 4 δραποδίσαντο καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν. ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τὸ δεινὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῶν διαφυγόντων ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ βοηθεῖν ὕστοντο δεῖν τοῖς φυγάσι κατὰ τάχος καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόναι, ἀντέπραττον δὲ οἱ δήμαρχοι στρατιὰν οὐκ ἐῶντες καταγράφειν ἔως ἂν ἡ περὶ τοὺς νόμους διενεχθῆ ψῆφος. ἀγανακτούσης δὲ τῆς

¹ ἄνδρας μὲν B : καὶ ἄνδρας A.

² οὖν οὐ Cary, οὐ Reiske : οὖν B, om. A.

³ δι' ἄλλων πυλῶν Cobet, διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων πυλῶν Reiske : διὰ τῶν πυλῶν O, Jacoby.

pointed day having named the consuls, he returned to that little cottage of his and lived, as before, the life of a farmer working his own land.

XX. Quintus Fabius Vibulanus¹ (for the third time) and Lucius Cornelius having succeeded to the consulship and being employed in exhibiting the traditional games, a chosen body of the Aequians, amounting to about six thousand men and lightly equipped, set out from their confines by night and came, while it was still dark, to the city of Tusculum, which belongs to the Latin race and is not less than a hundred stades distant from Rome. And finding the gates not locked and the walls unguarded, it being a time of peace, they took the town by assault, to gratify their resentment against the Tusculans because these were always zealously assisting the Romans and particularly because they alone had aided them in their struggle when they were besieging the Capitol.² The Aequians did not kill very many men in taking the city, since those inside, except such as were unable to flee because of illness or age, had forestalled them by crowding out through other gates just before the capture of the place ; but they made slaves of their wives, children and domestics, and plundered their effects. As soon as news of the disaster was brought to Rome by those who had escaped capture, the consuls thought they ought to assist the fugitives promptly and restore their city to them ; but the tribunes opposed them and would not permit an army to be enrolled until a vote should be taken concerning the law. While the senators were expressing their

¹ For chaps. 20 f. *cf.* Livy iii. 22-24.

² See chap. 16, 3.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

βουλῆς καὶ διατριβὴν λαμβανούσης τῆς στρατείας ἔτεροι παρῆσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους ἀποστάλεντες, οἱ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν πόλιν ἥγγελλον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀφεστηκέναι, μιᾶς χρησαμένων γνώμη Οὐολούσκων τε τῶν ἀρχαίων οἰκητόρων τῆς πόλεως καὶ Ἀρμαίων τῶν ἀφικομένων ὡς αὐτοὺς ἐποίκων καὶ μερισαμένων τὴν γῆν. Ἐρνίκων τε ἄγγελοι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς παρῆσαν χρόνους δηλοῦντες ὅτι Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν δύναμις πολλὴ ἐξελήλυθε
 5 καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν ἥδη γῆ. τούτων ἂμα προσαγγελομένων οὐδεμίαν ἀναστροφὴν ἔτι ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐδόκει, ἀλλὰ πανστρατιῷ βοηθεῖν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους ἐξιέναι· ἐὰν δέ τινες ἀπολειφθῶσι τῆς στρατείας Ἀρμαίων ἢ τῶν
 6 συμμάχων, ὡς πολεμίοις αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι. εἰξάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν δημάρχων καταγράψαντες τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας οἱ ὑπατοι καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων δυνάμεις μεταπεμψάμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐξήσαν ὑπολιπόμενοι¹ φυλακὴν τῇ πόλει τρίτην μοῖραν τῆς ἐπιχωρίου στρατιᾶς. Φάβιος μὲν οὖν
 7 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Γυσκλανῶν² ὄντας Αἰκανοὺς τὴν στρατιὰν ἥγε διὰ τάχους.³ τῶν δ' οἱ μὲν πλείους ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἥδη διηρπακότες τὴν πόλιν, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες ὑπέμενον φυλάττοντες τὴν ἄκραν· ἔστι δὲ σφόδρα ἔχυρὰ καὶ οὐ πολλῆς δεομένη φυλακῆς. τινὲς μὲν οὖν φασι τοὺς φρουροὺς τῆς ἄκρας ἴδόντας ἐξιοῦσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμητῆς τὴν στρατιάν (εὐσύνοπτα γάρ ἔστιν ἐκ μετεώρου τὰ μεταξὺ χωρὶα πάντα) ἐκόντας ἐξελθεῖν, ἔτεροι δὲ ἐκπολιορκηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαβίου καθ' ὁμολογίαν παραδοῦναι τὸ φρού-

¹ ὑπολιπόμενοι Ba : ὑπολειπόμενοι R.

indignation and the expedition was being delayed, other messengers arrived, from the Latin nation, reporting that Antium had openly revolted by the joint action of the Volscians, who were the original inhabitants of the place, and of the Romans who had come to them as colonists and had received a portion of the land. Messengers from the Hernicans also arrived during these same days, informing them that a large force of Volscians and Aequians had marched forth and was already in the country of the Hernicans. All these things being reported at the same time, the senators resolved to make no further delay, but to go to the rescue with all their forces, and that both consuls should take the field ; and if any of the Romans or the allies should decline to serve, to treat them as enemies. When the tribunes also yielded, the consuls, having enrolled all who were of military age and sent for the forces of the allies, hastily marched out, leaving a third part of their own army to guard the city. Fabius, accordingly, marched in haste against the Aequians who were in the Tusculans' territory. Most of these had already left the city after plundering it, but a few remained to guard the citadel, which is very strong and does not require a large garrison. Some state that the garrison of the citadel, seeing the army marching from Rome—for all the region lying between may be easily seen from a height—came out of their own accord ; others say that after being reduced by Fabius to the necessity of surrendering they handed over the fortress by capitulation, stipu-

² ἐν τῇ Τυσκλανῶν Cary, ἐν τῷ Τυσκλάνων (or ἐν τῷ Τύσκλῳ) Sylburg, Jacoby : ἐν τῷ τυσκλάνῳ AB.

³ διὰ τάχος B : διὰ τάχος ἐλαύνων R.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ριον, τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν αἰτησαμένους καὶ
ζυγὸν ὑποστάντας.

XXI. Ἀποδοὺς δὲ τοῖς Τυσκλανοῖς τὴν πόλιν
Φάβιος περὶ δείλην ὄφίαν ἀνίστησι τὴν στρατιάν,
καὶ ὡς εἶχε τάχους ἥλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,
ἀκούων περὶ πόλιν Ἀλγιδὸν¹ ἀθρόας εἶναι τὰς τε
Οὐολούσκων καὶ τὰς Αἴκανῶν δυνάμεις. ποιησά-
μενος δὲ δι’ ὅλης νυκτὸς σύντονον ὄδὸν ὑπ’ αὐτὸν
τὸν ὅρθρον ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐστρατοπε-
δευκόσιν ἐν πεδίῳ καὶ οὕτε τάφρον περιβεβλημένοις
οὕτε χάρακα, ὡς ἐν οἰκείᾳ τε γῇ καὶ καταφρονήσει
2 τοῦ ἀντιπάλου. παρακελευσάμενος δὲ τοῖς ἀμφ’
αὐτὸν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι γίνεσθαι πρῶτος εἰσελαύνει
μετὰ τῶν ἵππεων εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρεμβο-
λήν, καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ συναλαλάξαντες² εἴποντο· τῶν δ’
οἱ μὲν ἔτι κοιμώμενοι ἐφονεύοντο, οἱ δ’ ἀρτίως
ἀνεστηκότες καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐπιχειροῦντες τραπέ-
3 σθαι, οἱ δὲ πλείους φεύγοντες ἐσκεδάννυντο.³ ἀλόν-
τος δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν
ἐπιτρέψας τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ χρήματα ὡφελεῖσθαι
καὶ τὰ σώματα πλὴν ὅσα Τυσκλανῶν ἦν, οὐ πολὺν
ἐνταῦθα διατρύφας χρόνον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐχετρανῶν
πόλιν ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν, ἢ τότε ἦν τοῦ Οὐολούσκων
ἔθνους ἐπιφανεστάτη τε κάν⁴ τῷ κρατίστῳ μάλιστα
4 τόπῳ κειμένη. στρατοπεδεύσας δὲ πλησίον τῆς πό-
λεως ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας κατ’ ἐλπίδα τοῦ προελεύ-
σεσθαι τοὺς ἔνδον εἰς μάχην, ὡς οὐδεμίᾳ ἐξῆγει
στρατιά, τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐδήσου ἀνθρώπων μεστὴν
οὖσαν καὶ βοσκημάτων. οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασαν ἀνασκευ-
ασάμενοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν αἰφνιδίου γενηθείσης

¹ ἀλγιδὸν Ba : ἀλγηδόνα A Bb.

² Reiske : οὐν ἀλαλάξαντες B, ἀλαλάξαντες A.

lating that their lives should be spared and submitting to pass under the yoke.

XXI. After Fabius had restored the city to the Tusculans, he broke camp in the late afternoon and marched with all possible speed against the enemy, upon hearing that the combined forces of the Volscians and the Aequians lay near the town of Algidum. And having made a forced march all that night, he appeared before the enemy at early dawn, as they lay encamped in a plain without either a ditch or a palisade to defend them, inasmuch as they were in their own country and were contemptuous of their foe. Then, exhorting his troops to acquit themselves as brave men should, he was the first to charge into the enemy's camp at the head of the horse, and the foot, uttering their war-cry, followed. Some of the enemy were slain while they were still asleep and others just as they had got up and were attempting to defend themselves ; but most of them scattered in flight. The camp having been taken with great ease, Fabius permitted the soldiers to keep for themselves the booty and the prisoners, except those who were Tusculans. Then, after a short stay there, he led them to Ecetra, which was at that time the most prominent city of the Volscian nation and the most strongly situated. When he had encamped near this city for many days in hopes that those inside would come out to fight, and no army issued forth, he laid waste their land, which was full of men and cattle ; for the Volscians, surprised by the suddenness of the attack upon them, had not had time to remove their

³ φεύγοντες ἐσκεδάννυντο Α : ἔφευγον B.

⁴ Jacoby : καὶ AB.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐφόδου. ἐφεὶς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις διαρπάζειν ὁ Φάβιος καὶ πολλὰς ἐν τῇ προνομῇ διατρίψας ἡμέρας ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν.

5 'Ο δ' ἔτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Κορηνήλιος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν 'Αντίῳ 'Ρωμαίους τε καὶ Οὐολούσκους ἐλαύνων ἐπιτυγχάνει στρατιᾶ πρὸ τῶν ὅρίων αὐτὸν ὑποδεχομένη. παραταξάμενος δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν φονεύσας, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τρεψάμενος, ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. οὐ τολμώντων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οὐκέτι χωρεῦν εἰς μάχην πρῶτον μὲν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἔκειρεν, ἔπειτα τὴν πόλιν¹ ἀπετάφρευε καὶ περιεχαράκου. τότε δὴ πάλιν ἀναγκασθέντες ἔξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανστρατιᾶ, πολὺς καὶ ἀσύντακτος ὄχλος, καὶ συμβαλόντες εἰς μάχην ἔτι κάκιον ἀγωνισάμενοι κατακλείονται τὸ δεύτερον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀνάνδρως φεύγοντες.
 6 ὁ δ' ὑπατος οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἀναστροφὴν ἔτι δοὺς κλίμακας προσέφερε τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ κριοῖς ἔξ-έκοπτε τὰς πύλας. ἐπιπόνως δὲ καὶ ταλαιπώρως τῶν ἔνδον ἀπομαχομένων οὐ πολλὰ πραγματευθεὶς κατὰ κράτος αἱρεῖ τὴν πόλιν. χρήματα μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν, ὅσα χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς ἔνην, εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐκέλευσεν ἀναφέρειν, ἀνδράποδα δὲ τοὺς ταμίας παραλαμβάνοντας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λάφυρα πωλεῖν· τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ἐσθῆτα καὶ τροφὰς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἐδύναντο ὠφελεῖσθαι ἐπέτρεψεν.
 7 ἔπειτα διακρίνας τῶν τε κληρούχων καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων 'Αντιατῶν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τε καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως αἰτίους—ἥσαν δὲ πολλοὶ²—ῥάβδοις τε ἥκίσατο μέχρι πολλοῦ καὶ τοὺς αὐχένας αὐτῶν

¹ πόλιν B : πόλιν αὐτῶν R, πόλιν αὐτὴν Reiske.

² ἥσαν δὲ οὐ πολλοί Kiessling.

possessions out of the fields. These things also Fabius permitted his soldiers to plunder ; and after spending many days in ravaging the country, he led the army home.

The other consul, Cornelius, marching against the Romans and Volscians in Antium, found an army awaiting him before their borders ; and arraying his forces against them, he killed many, and after putting the rest to flight, encamped near the city. But when the inhabitants no longer ventured to come out for battle, he first laid waste their land and then surrounded the city with a ditch and palisades. Then indeed the enemy were compelled to come out again from the city with all their forces, a numerous and disorderly multitude ; and engaging in battle and fighting with less bravery than before, they were shut up inside the city a second time, after a shameful and unmanly flight. But the consul, giving them no longer any rest, planted scaling-ladders against the walls and broke down the gates with battering-rams ; then, as the besieged with difficulty and painfully tried to fight them off, he with little trouble took the town by storm. He ordered that such of their effects as consisted of gold, silver and copper should be turned in to the treasury, and that the slaves and the rest of the spoils should be taken over and sold by the quaestors ; but to the soldiers he granted the apparel and provisions and everything else of the sort that they could use for booty. Then, selecting both from the colonists and from the original inhabitants of Antium those who were the most prominent and had been the authors of the revolt—and there were many of these¹—he ordered them to be scourged

¹ Kiessling would read, “ there were not many of these.”

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτεμεῖν. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπῆγε
 8 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν. τούτοις ἡ βουλὴ
 τοῖς ὑπάτοις προσιοῦσί τε ἀπήντησε καὶ θριάμβους
 ἀμφοτέροις καταγαγεῖν ἐψηφίσατο· καὶ πρὸς Αἰ-
 κανοὺς πρεσβευσαμένους ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἐποιήσατο
 συνθήκας περὶ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν αἷς
 ἐγράφη πόλεις τε καὶ χώραν¹ ἔχοντας Αἰκανοὺς
 ὃν ἐκράτουν ὅτε αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγίνοντο 'Ρωμαίοις
 εἶναι ὑπηκόους, ἄλλο μὲν ὑποτελοῦντας μηθέν, ἐν
 δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις συμμαχίαν ἀποστέλλοντας ὁσην-
 δήποτε, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι. καὶ τὸ ἔτος
 τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

XXII. Τῷ δ' ἔξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ Γάιος Ναύτιος τὸ
 δεύτερον αἱρεθεὶς καὶ Λεύκιος Μηνύκιος παρα-
 λαβόντες² τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν τέως μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν
 πολιτικῶν δικαίων πόλεμον ἐντὸς τείχους ἐπολέ-
 μουν πρὸς τοὺς ἄμα Οὐεργινίω δημάρχους τοὺς
 τέταρτον ἔτος ἥδη τὴν αὐτὴν κατασχόντας ἀρχήν.
 2 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἔθνῶν πόλεμος ἐπ-
 εγένετο τῇ πόλει καὶ δέος ἦν μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφ-
 αιρεθῶσιν, ἀσμένως δεξάμενοι τὸ συμβάν ἀπὸ τῆς
 τύχης τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἐποιοῦντο κατάλογον καὶ
 μερισάμενοι τριχῇ τὰς τε οἰκείας καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν
 συμμάχων δυνάμεις μίαν μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει μοῖραν
 κατέλιπον, ἥσ ήγεντο Κόιντος Φάβιος Οὐιβολανός,
 τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς αὐτοὶ παραλαβόντες ἐξήσαν διὰ
 ταχέων, ἐπὶ μὲν Σαβίνους Ναύτιος, ἐπὶ δ' Αἰκανοὺς
 3 Μηνύκιος. ἀμφότερα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη κατὰ τὸν
 αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀφειστήκει τῆς 'Ρωμαίων ἀρχῆς,
 Σαβῖνοι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ³ φανεροῦ, καὶ μέχρι Φιδῆνης

¹ Kiessling : χώρας Ο, Jacoby.

² Sylburg : παραλαβὸν Βα, παραλαβὼν ΑΒβ.

with rods for a long time and then beheaded. After accomplishing these things he too led his army home. The senate went to meet these consuls as they approached the city and decreed that they both should celebrate a triumph. And when the Aequians sent heralds to sue for peace, they concluded with them a treaty for the termination of the war, in which it was stipulated that the Aequians should retain the cities and land which they possessed at the time of the treaty and be subject to the Romans without paying any tribute, but sending to their assistance in time of war a certain number of troops, like the rest of the allies. Thus ended that year.

XXII. The following year¹ Gaius Nautius (chosen for the second time) and Lucius Minucius succeeded to the consulship, and were for a time waging a war inside the walls, concerning the rights of citizens, against Verginius and the other tribunes, who had obtained the same magistracy now for the fourth year. But when war was brought upon the commonwealth by the neighbouring peoples and there was fear that they might be deprived of their empire, the consuls gladly accepted the opportunity presented to them by Fortune ; and having held the military levy, and divided both their own forces and those of the allies into three bodies, they left one of them in the city, commanded by Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, and themselves taking the other two, they marched out in haste, Nautius against the Sabines and Minucius against the Aequians. For both these nations had revolted from the Roman rule at the same time. The Sabines had done so openly, and had advanced as far

¹ For chaps. 22 f. cf. Livy iii. 25-26, 6.

³ τοῦ added by Kiessling.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πόλεως ἥλασαν, ἡς ἐκράτουν Ῥωμαῖοι (τετταράκοντα δ' εἰσὶν οἱ διὰ μέσου τῶν πόλεων στάδιοι), Αἰκανοὶ δὲ λόγῳ μὲν φυλάττοντες τὰ τῆς νεωστὶ γενομένης συμμαχίας δίκαια, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ οὗτοι 4 πράττοντες τὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοὺς συμμάχους αὐτῶν Λατίνους ἐστράτευσαν, ὡς οὐ γενομένων αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους ὅμολογιῶν περὶ φιλίας. ἥγεντο δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς¹ Γράκχος Κλοίλιος,² ἀνὴρ δραστήριος ἀρχῇ κοσμηθεὶς αὐτοκράτορι, ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλικώτερον ἔξήγαγεν. ἐλάσας δὲ μέχρι Τύσκλου πόλεως, ἦν Αἰκανοὶ τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ καταλαβόμενοι καὶ διαρπάσαντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων 5 ἔξεκρούσθησαν, ἀνθρώπους τε πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἄγρων συνήρπασε καὶ βοσκήματα ὅσα κατέλαβε καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς ἐν ἀκμῇ ὅντας ἔφθειρεν. ἀφικομένης δὲ πρεσβείας, ἦν ἀπέστειλεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ μαθεῦν ἀξιοῦσα τί παθόντες Αἰκανοὶ πολεμοῦσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχοις, φιλίας τ' αὐτοῖς ὁμωμοσμένης νεωστὶ καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ γενομένου προσκρούσματος τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ παραινούσης τῷ Κλοιλίῳ τούς τ' αἰχμαλώτους αὐτῶν οὓς εἶχεν ἀφιέναι καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάγειν καὶ περὶ ὧν ἡδίκησεν ἢ κατέβλαψε Τυσκλανοὺς δίκην ὑποσχεῖν, πολὺν μὲν χρόνον διέτριψεν ὁ Γράκχος οὐδ' εἰς λόγους τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἐρχόμενος, 6 ὡς ἐν ἀσχολίαις δή τισι γεγονώς. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις, κάκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐπισταλέντας ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς λόγους διεξ-

¹ στρατιᾶς B : στρατείας R.

² Γράκχος Κλοίλιος Sylburg : γράγχος κοιλιος AB, Jacoby (and so throughout the following chapters). Both names are similarly corrupted in some other places (e.g., γράγχος

as Fidenae, which was in the possession of the Romans ; the two cities are forty stades apart. As for the Aequians, though nominally they were observing the terms of the alliance they had recently made, in reality they too were acting like enemies ; for they had made war upon the Latins, the allies of the Romans, claiming that they had made no compact of friendship with that nation. Their army was commanded by Cloelius Gracchus,¹ a man of action who had been invested with absolute authority, which he increased to more nearly royal power. This leader, marching as far as the city of Tusculum, which the Aequians had taken and plundered the year before, only to be driven out of it by the Romans, seized a great number of men and all the cattle he found in the fields, and destroyed the crops, which were then ripe. When an embassy arrived, sent by the Roman senate, which demanded to know what provocation had induced the Aequians to make war upon the allies of the Romans, though they had recently sworn to a treaty of peace with them and no cause of offence had since arisen between the two nations, and the envoys advised Cloelius to release the Tusculan prisoners whom he held, to withdraw his forces and to stand trial for the injuries and damage he had done to the Tusculans, he delayed a long time without even giving audience to them, pretending that he was occupied with some business or other. And when he did see fit to have them introduced and they had delivered the senate's message, he said : " I

¹ See the critical note.

A in ii. 11, 3, *κοιλίου* A in x. 42, 3 ; see also the note on iii. 2, 1).

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ηλθον· “Θαυμάζω,” φησίν, “ὑμῶν, ὡς Ρωμαῖοι, τί δή ποτ’ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἥγεῖσθε πολεμίους, καὶ ύφ’ ὧν οὐδὲν κακὸν πεπόνθατε, ἀρχῆς καὶ τυραννίδος ἔνεκα, Αἰκανοῖς δ’ οὐ συγχωρεῖτε παρὰ τουτωνὶ Τυσκλανῶν ἔχθρῶν ὅντων ἀναπράττεσθαι δίκας, οὐθενὸς ἡμῖν διωμολογημένου περὶ αὐτῶν ὅτε τὰς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐποιούμεθα συνθή-
7 κας. εἰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ὑμετέρων ἰδίων ἀδικεῖσθαι τι
ἢ βλάπτεσθαι λέγετε ύφ’ ἡμῶν, τὰ δίκαια ὑφέξομεν
ὑμῖν κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας· εἰ δὲ περὶ Τυσκλανῶν
ἀναπραξόμενοι δίκας ἥκετε, οὐθείς ἐστιν ὑμῖν πρὸς
ἔμε περὶ τούτων λόγος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ταύτην λαλεῖτε
τὴν φηγόν”—δειξας αὐτοῖς τινα πλησίον πεφυκυῖαν.

XXIII. Ρωμαῖοι δὲ τοιαῦτα ὑβρισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ εὐθὺς ὀργῇ ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐξήγαγον τὴν στρατιάν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέραν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλαν πρεσβείαν καὶ τοὺς φητιάλεις¹ καλουμένους ἄνδρας ἱερεῖς² ἐπεμψαν ἐπιμαρτυρόμενοι³ θεούς τε καὶ δαίμονας ὅτι μὴ δυνηθέντες τῶν δικαίων τυχεῖν ὅσιον ἀναγκασθήσονται πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν· καὶ μετὰ
2 ταῦτα τὸν ὑπατον ἀπέστειλαν. ὁ δὲ Γράκχος,
ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Ρωμαίους προσιόντας ἔμαθεν, ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἀπῆγε προσωτέρω, τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπομένων, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τοιαῦτα προαγαγέσθαι⁴ χωρία ἐν οἷς πλεονεκτήσειν ἔμελλεν· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. φυλάξας γὰρ αὐλῶνα περικλειόμενον ὅρεσιν, ὡς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τοῦτον οἱ Ρωμαῖοι διώκοντες αὐτόν, ὑποστρέφει τε καὶ στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ αὐλῶνος ἔξω

¹ Sylburg : φιτιάλεις B, φιτιαλεῖς R.

² ἱερεῖς A : ἱεροὺς R.

³ ἐπιμαρτυρόμενοι A : ἐπιμαρτυρούμενοι B.

wonder at you, Romans, why in the world, when you yourselves regard all men as enemies, even those from whom you have received no injury, because of your lust for dominion and tyranny, you do not concede to the Aequians the right to take vengeance on these Tusculans here, who are our enemies, inasmuch as we made no agreement with regard to them at the time we concluded the treaty with you. Now if you claim that any interest of your own is suffering injustice or injury at our hands, we will afford you proper indemnity in accordance with the treaty; but if you have come to exact satisfaction on behalf of the Tusculans, you have no reckoning with me on that subject, but go talk to yonder oak"—pointing to one that grew near by.

XXIII. The Romans, though thus insulted by the man, did not immediately give way to their resentment and lead their army forth, but sent a second embassy to him and likewise the priests called *fetiales*, calling the gods and lesser divinities to witness that if they were unable to obtain satisfaction they should be obliged to wage a holy war; and after that they sent out the consul. When Gracchus learned that the Romans were approaching, he broke camp and retired with his forces to a greater distance, the enemy following close at his heels. His purpose was to lead them on into a region where he would have an advantage over them; and that is what in fact happened. For waiting until he found a valley surrounded by hills, he then, as soon as the Romans had entered it in pursuit of him, faced about and encamped astride the road that led out of the valley.

⁴ Hertlein : προσαγαγέσθαι O.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

3 φέρουσαν ὅδόν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνεβεβήκει τοῖς
 'Ρωμαίοις οὐχ δν ἔβούλοντο ἐκλέξασθαι τόπον εἰς
 στρατοπεδείαν, ἀλλ' δν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ καιρός,
 ἐνθα οὕθ' ἵπποις χιλὸν εὔπορον ἦν λαμβάνειν, ὅρεις
 περικλειομένου τοῦ τόπου ψιλοῖς καὶ δυσβάτοις,
 οὕθ' ἑαυτοῖς τροφὰς ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας συγκομίζειν,
 ἐπειδὴ κατηγάλωντο ἡσοὶ οἴκοθεν ἔφερον, οὕτε μετα-
 στρατοπεδεύσασθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἀντικαθημένων
 καὶ κωλυόντων τὰς ἔξοδους. βιάσασθαι τε προελό-
 μενοι καὶ προελθόντες εἰς μάχην ἀνεκρούσθησαν καὶ
 πολλὰς πληγὰς λαβόντες εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν¹ κατεκλείσ-
 θησαν χάρακα. ὁ δὲ Κλοίλιος ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ προ-
 τερήματι τούτῳ περιετάφρευέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ περι-
 εχαράκου καὶ πολλὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχε λιμῷ πιεσθέντας
 4 παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τὰ ὅπλα. ἀφικομένης δ' εἰς
 'Ρώμην περὶ τούτων ἀγγελίας Κόντος Φάβιος ὁ
 καταλειφθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπαρχος ἀπὸ τῆς σὺν
 αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς ὅσον ἦν ἀκμαιότατον² τε καὶ κράτισ-
 τον ἐπιλέξας μέρος ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἐπεμψε τῷ
 ὑπάτῳ. ἥγειτο δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης Τίτος
 5 Κοῖντιος ὁ ταμίας ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός. πρὸς δὲ τὸν
 ἔτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Ναύτιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Σαβίνοις
 στρατιᾶς ὄντα γράμματα διαπέμψας τά τε συμβάντα
 τῷ Μηνυκίῳ διεσάφησε καὶ αὐτὸν ἥκειν ἡξίου διὰ
 ταχέων. κάκεῖνος ἐπιτρέψας τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς τὸν
 χάρακα φυλάττειν αὐτὸς σὺν ὀλίγοις³ ἵππεῦσιν εἰς
 τὴν 'Ρώμην ἐλαύνει συντόνῳ χρησάμενος ἴππασίᾳ.
 εἰσελθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔτι πολλῆς νυκτὸς οὕσης
 ἔβουλεύετο σὺν τῷ Φαβίῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν⁴
 τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσιν

¹ αὐτὸν Ο : αὐτῶν Gelenius.

² Sylburg : ἀναγκαιότατον Ο.

As a consequence the Romans were unable to choose for their camp the place they preferred, but had to take the one the situation offered, where it was not easy either to get forage for the horses, the place being surrounded by hills that were bare and difficult of access, or to bring in provisions for themselves out of the enemy's country, since what they had brought from home had been consumed, nor yet easy to shift their camp while the enemy lay before them and blocked the exits. Choosing, therefore, to force their way out, they engaged in battle and were repulsed, and after receiving many wounds were shut up again in the same camp. Cloelius, elated by this success, began to surround the place with a ditch and palisades and had great hopes of forcing them by famine to deliver up their arms to him. The news of this disaster being brought to Rome, Quintus Fabius, who had been left as prefect in charge of the city, chose out of his own army a body of the fittest and strongest men and sent them to the assistance of the consul; they were commanded by Titus Quintius, who was quaestor and an ex-consul. And sending a letter to Nautius, the other consul, who commanded the army in the country of the Sabines, he informed him of what had happened to Minucius and asked him to come in haste. Nautius committed the guarding of the camp to the legates and he himself with a small squadron of cavalry made a forced ride to Rome; and arriving in the city while it was still deep night, he took counsel with Fabius and the oldest of the other citizens concerning the measures that should be taken. When all were of the opinion

³ δόλιγοις B : τοῖς ἄλλοις R.

⁴ πολιτῶν O : βουλευτῶν Kiessling.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐδόκει δικτάτορος δεῖσθαι ὁ καιρός, ἀποδείκνυσιν
ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην Λεύκιον Κοῖντιον¹ Κικιννᾶ-
τον. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὤχετο
πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

XXIV. ‘Ο δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔπαρχος Φάβιος
ἔπειτε τοὺς παραληψομένους τὸν Κοῖντιον ἐπὶ τὴν
ἀρχὴν. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ τότε ὁ ἀνήρ τῶν κατ’ ἀγρὸν
ἔργων τι διαπραττόμενος· ἵδων δὲ τὸν προσιόντα
σχλον καὶ ὑποπτεύσας ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἥκειν ἐσθῆτά τ’
ἔλαμβανεν εὐπρεπεστέραν καὶ ὑπαντήσων αὐτοῖς
2 ἐπορεύετο. ὡς δ’ ἐγγὺς ἦν, ἵππους τ’ αὐτῷ φαλά-
ροις κεκοσμημένους ἐκπρεπέσι προσῆγον καὶ πελέ-
κεις ἄμα ταῖς ράβδοις εὔκοσιτέτταρας παρέστησαν
ἐσθῆτά τε ἀλουργῆ καὶ τὰλλα παράσημα οἷς πρότε-
ρον ἡ τῶν βασιλέων ἐκεκόσμητο ἀρχὴ προσήνεγκαν.
ὅ δὲ μαθὼν ὅτι δικτάτωρ ἀποδέδεικται τῆς πόλεως,
οὐχ ὅπως ἡγάπησε τηλικαύτης τιμῆς τυχών, ἀλλὰ
προσαγανακτήσας εἶπεν· “‘Απολεῖται ἄρα καὶ τού-
του τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁ καρπὸς διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς ἀσχολίας,
3 καὶ πεινήσομεν ἄπαντες κακῶς.’” μετὰ ταῦτα
παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον μὲν ἐθάρρυνε
τοὺς πολίτας λόγον ἐν τῷ πλήθει διεξελθὼν ἐξεγεῖ-
ραι τὰς ψυχὰς δυνάμενον ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς· ἔπειτα
συναγαγών ἄπαντας τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ, τούς τε κατὰ
πόλιν² καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν
συμμάχων ἐπικουρίας μεταπεμψάμενος ἵππάρχην
τ’ ἀποδείξας Λεύκιον Ταρκύνιον, ἄνδρα τῶν ἡμελη-
μένων μὲν διὰ πενίαν, τὰ δὲ πολέμια γενναῖον,
ἐξῆγε³ συγκεκροτημένην ἔχων δύναμιν, καὶ κατα-
λαβὼν τὸν ταμίαν Τίτον Κοῖντιον ἀναδεχόμενον

¹ Κοῖντιον added by Kiessling.

² πόλιν Ο : τὴν πόλιν Ambrosch, Jacoby.

BOOK X. 23, 5—24, 3

that the situation required a dictator, he named Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus to that magistracy. Then, having attended to this business, he himself returned to the camp.

XXIV. Fabius,¹ the prefect of the city, sent men to invite Quintius to come and assume his magistracy. It chanced that Quintius was on this occasion also engaged in some work of husbandry ; and seeing the approaching throng and suspecting that they were coming after him, he put on more becoming apparel and went to meet them. When he drew near, they brought to him horses decked with magnificent trappings, placed beside him twenty-four axes with the rods and presented to him the purple robe and the other insignia with which aforetime the kingly office had been adorned. Quintius, when he learned that he had been appointed dictator, far from being pleased at receiving so great an honour, was actually vexed, and said : “ This year’s crop too will be ruined, then, because of my official duties, and we shall all go dreadfully hungry.” After that he went into the city and first encouraged the citizens by delivering a speech before the populace calculated to raise their spirits with good hopes ; then, after assembling all the men in their prime, both of the city and of the country, and sending for the forces of the allies, he appointed as his Master of Horse Lucius Tarquinius, a man who because of his poverty had been overlooked, but valiant in war. After which he led out his forces, now that he had them assembled, and joined Titus Quintius, the quaestor, who was awaiting

¹ For chaps. 24 f. cf. Livy iii. 26, 7—29, 9.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

αύτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν, λαβὼν καὶ τὴν σὺν ἐκείνῳ
 4 δύναμιν ἥγεν¹ ἐπὶ τὸν πολεμίους. ὡς δὲ κατ-
 ὥπτευσε τὴν τῶν χωρίων φύσιν ἐν οἷς ἦν τὰ
 στρατόπεδα, μέρος μέν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς
 μετεώροις ἔταξεν, ὡς μήτε βοήθεια παραγένοιτο τοῖς
 Αἰκανοῖς ἔτέρα μήτε τροφαί, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν
 αὐτὸς ἔχων προῆγεν ἐκτεταγμένην ὡς εἰς μάχην.
 καὶ ὁ Κλοῖλιος οὐθὲν ὑποδείσας (ἢ τε γὰρ δύναμις ἡ
 περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν οὐκ ὀλίγη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδόκει ψυχὴν
 οὐ κακὸς εἶναι κατὰ² τὰ πολέμια) δέχεται αὐτὸν
 5 ἐπιόντα, καὶ γίνεται μάχη καρτερά. χρόνου δὲ
 πολλοῦ διελθόντος καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὸν
 συνεχεῖς πολέμους ἀναφερόντων τὸν πόνον τῶν τε
 ἵππεων κατὰ τὸ κάμνον μέρος ἀεὶ ἐπιβοηθούντων
 τοῖς πεζοῖς ἡσσηθεὶς ὁ Γράκχος κατακλείεται πάλιν³
 εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ⁴ χάρακα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ὁ⁵ Κοῦντιος
 περιταφρεύσας αὐτὸν ὑψηλῷ χάρακι καὶ πύργοις
 πυκνοῖς περιλαβών, ἐπεὶ κάμνοντα ἔμαθε τῶν
 ἀναγκαίων τῇ σπάνει, αὐτός τε προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο
 συνεχεῖς πρὸς τὸν χάρακα τῶν Αἰκανῶν καὶ τῷ
 Μηνυκίῳ προσέταξεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔτέρων ἔξιέναι⁶
 6 μερῶν. ὥστε ἡναγκάσθησαν οἱ Αἰκανοὶ τροφῆς τε
 ἀπορούμενοι καὶ συμμάχων βοήθειαν ἀπεγνωκότες
 πολιορκούμενοί τε πολλαχόθεν⁷ ἴκετηρίας ἀναλα-
 βόντες ἐπιπρεσβεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Κοῦντιον περὶ
 φιλίας.⁸ ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις Αἰκανοῖς ἔφη σπένδε-
 σθαι καὶ διδόναι τοῖς σώμασι⁹ τὴν ἄδειαν τά τε

¹ Reiske : ἥκεε O, Jacoby.

² κατὰ added by Jacoby. Kiessling preferred to delete τὰ πολέμια or else to read καὶ τὰ πολέμια δεινός.

³ πάλιν B : om. R.

⁴ ἑαυτοῦ R (?) : αὐτοῦ B.

⁵ τοῦθ' ὁ Jacoby, τοῦτο ὁ Kiessling : τοῦτο O.

⁶ ἐπιέναι Kiessling.

⁷ πανταχόθεν Kiessling.

his arrival ; and taking with him Quintius' forces also, he led them against the enemy. After observing the nature of the places in which the camps lay, he posted a part of his army on the heights, in order that neither another relief force nor any provisions might reach the Aequians, and he himself marched forward with the remainder arrayed as for battle. Cloelius, unmoved by fear—for the force he had was no small one and he himself was looked upon as no craven in spirit when it came to fighting—awaited his attack, and a severe battle ensued. After this had continued for a long time, and the Romans because of their continuous wars endured the toil, and the horse kept relieving the foot wherever the latter were hard pressed, Gracchus was beaten and shut up once more in his camp. After that Quintius surrounded it with a high palisade, fortified with many towers ; and when he learned that Gracchus was in distress for want of provisions, he not only himself made continual attacks upon the camp of the Aequians, but also ordered Minucius to make a sortie on the other side.¹ Consequently the Aequians, lacking provisions, despairing of aid from any allies, and besieged on many sides,² were compelled to send envoys to Quintius with the tokens of suppliants to treat for peace. Quintius said he was ready to make peace with the rest of the Aequians and grant them immunity for their persons if they would lay down

¹ Kiessling would read, “ make an attack from the other side.”

² Kiessling suggests “ on all sides.”

⁸ διαλεγόμενοι after φίλας deleted by Garrer ; Sylburg read διαλεξόμενοι.

⁹ σώμασιν B. Kiessling would read σώμασιν ἀδειαν.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ὅπλα ἀποθεμένοις καὶ καθ' ἕνα διεξιοῦσιν ὑπὸ ζυγόν, Γράκχω δὲ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς σὺν ἐκείνῳ βουλεύσασι τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὡς πολεμίοις χρήσεσθαι,¹ ἐκέλευσέ τε αὐτοῖς ἄγειν τοὺς ἄνδρας δεδεμένους. ὑπομενόντων δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Αἰκανῶν τελευταῖον αὐτοῖς ἐκεῦνο προσέταξεν· ἐπειδὴ Τύσκλον πόλιν Ῥωμαίων σύμμαχον ἔξηνδραποδίσαντο καὶ διήρπασαν οὐδὲν ὑπὸ Τυσκλανῶν παθόντες κακόν, ἀντιπαρασχεῖν ἑαυτῷ πόλιν τῶν 8 σφετέρων Κορβιῶν τὰ ὅμοια διαθεῖναι. ταύτας λαβόντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις οἱ πρέσβεις² ἀπῆσταν³ καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆσαν ἄγοντες τὸν Γράκχον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ δεδεμένους· αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα θέντες ἔξελιπον τὴν παρεμβολὴν διαπορευόμενοι, καθάπερ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευσε, διὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων χάρακος καθ' ἕνα ὑπὸ ζυγόν, καὶ τὴν Κορβιῶν κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας παρέδοσαν, τὰ ἐλεύθερα σώματα μόνον ἔξελθεῖν αἰτησάμενοι, περὶ ὧν διῆλλαξαν τοὺς Τυσκλανῶν αἰχμαλώτους.

XXV. Παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Κοῦντιος τὴν πόλιν τὰ μὲν ἐπιφανέστατα τῶν λαφύρων εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκέλευσε φέρειν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα διελέσθαι κατὰ λόχους ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς τε σὺν αὐτῷ⁴ παραγενομένοις στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἄμα Κοῦντιώ τῷ ταμίᾳ προ-
αποσταλεῖσι. τοῖς δὲ μετὰ Μηνυκίου τοῦ ὑπάτου κατακλεισθεῖσιν ἐν τῷ χάρακι μεγάλην ἔφη δεδω-
κέναι δωρεὰν τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐκ θανάτου ρυσά-
2 μενος. ταῦτα πράξας καὶ τὸν Μηνύκιον ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναγκάσας ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην

¹ Sylburg : χρήσασθαι Ο, Jacoby.

² οἱ πρέσβεις R : οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν αἰκανῶν B, Jacoby.

³ Sylburg : προήσταν Ο, Jacoby.

their arms and pass under the yoke one at a time ; but as for Gracchus, their commander, and those who had planned the revolt with him, he would treat them as enemies, and he ordered them to bring these men to him in chains. When the Aequians consented to do so, the last demand he made of them was this—that, inasmuch as they had enslaved the inhabitants of Tusculum, a city in alliance with the Romans, and plundered it, though they had received no injury from the Tusculans, they should in turn put at his disposal one of their own cities, Corbio, to be treated in like manner. The envoys, having received this answer, departed, and not long afterward returned, bringing with them in chains Gracchus and his associates. They themselves, laying down their arms, left their camp and, pursuant to the general's orders, marched through the Roman camp one by one under the yoke ; and they delivered up Corbio according to their agreement, merely asking that the inhabitants of free condition might leave the city, in exchange for whom they released the Tusculan captives.

XXV. Quintius, having taken possession of Corbio, ordered the choicest of the spoils to be carried to Rome and permitted all the rest to be distributed by centuries both to the troops that had been with him and to those that had been sent ahead with Quintius the quaestor. As for the forces which had been shut up in their camp with Minucius the consul, he said that he had already bestowed a great gift upon them in delivering them from death. After doing these things and forcing Minucius to resign his magistracy, he returned to Rome and celebrated a triumph more

⁴ αὐτῷ Bb : ἐαυτῷ ABA.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

καὶ κατήγαγε λαμπρότατον ἀπάντων ἡγεμόνων θρίαμβον, ἐν ἡμέραις ἑκκαΐδεκα ταῖς πάσαις, ἀφ' ἣς παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, στρατόπεδόν τε σώσας φίλιον καὶ πολεμίων δύναμιν ἀκμάζουσαν καθελὼν πόλιν τε αὐτῶν πορθήσας καὶ φρουρὰν αὐτῆς ὑπολιπὼν τόν τε ἡγεμόνα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας ἀλύσει δεδεμένους ἀγα-
 3 γών.¹ καί, ὁ μάλιστα πάντων αὐτοῦ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον,² τὴν τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν εἰς ἔξαμηνον εἰληφὼς οὐκ ἐχρήσατο παντὶ τῷ νόμῳ, ἀλλὰ συναγαγὼν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων λόγον ἀποδοὺς ἔξωμόσατο τὴν ἀρχήν, τῆς τε βουλῆς δεομένης γῆν τε ὅσην ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν ἐκ τῆς δορικτήτου καὶ ἄνδραποδα καὶ χρήματα ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἐπανορθώσαι τε³ τὴν πενίαν πλούτῳ δικαίῳ, ὃν ἀπὸ πολεμίων κάλλιστον ἐκτήσατο τοῖς ἴδιοις πόνοις, οὐκ ἡξίωσε, φίλων τε καὶ συγγενῶν δωρεὰς προσφερόντων μεγάλας καὶ ἀντὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ τιθεμένων ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἄνδρα εὖ ποιεῖν, ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς τῆς προθυμίας οὐθὲν τῶν διδομένων ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ἀπῆλθε πάλιν εἰς τὸ μικρὸν ἐκεῖνο χωρίον, καὶ τὸν αὐτουργὸν αὐτοῦ⁴ ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ μετειλή-
 4 φει⁵ βίον, μεῖζον φρονῶν ἐπὶ πενίᾳ ἢ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ πλούτῳ. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον καὶ Ναύτιος, ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, νικήσας Σαβίνους ἐκ παρατάξεως καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν πολλὴν καταδραμῶν ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις.

XXVI. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὄλυμπιὰς μὲν ἦν ὁ γδοη-
κοστὴ καὶ πρώτη, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Πολύμναστος

¹ ἀγαγών A : om. B, ἀγων R.

² ὅτι after ἄξιον deleted by Vassilis.

³ τε B : om. R, Jacoby. ⁴ αὐτοῦ O : αὐθις Cobet.

brilliant than that of any other general, having in the space of sixteen days in all from that on which he had received the magistracy saved an army of his fellow citizens, defeated a first-rate force of the enemy, plundered one of their cities and left a garrison in it, and brought back the leader of the war and the other prominent men bound in chains. But—what most of all was worthy of admiration about him—though he had received so great power for six months, he did not take full advantage of the law, but having called the people together in assembly and given them an account of his achievements, he abdicated his magistracy. And when the senate wanted him to accept as much of the conquered land as he wished, together with slaves and money out of the spoils, and to relieve his poverty with deserved riches which he had acquired most honourably from the enemy by his own toils, he refused to do so. Also when his friends and relations offered him magnificent gifts and placed their greatest happiness in assisting such a man, he thanked them for their zeal, but would accept none of their presents. Instead, he retired again to that small farm of his and resumed his life of a farmer working his own land in preference to the life of a king, glorying more in his poverty than others in their riches. Not long afterwards Nautius also, the other consul, returned to Rome with his forces, after defeating the Sabines in a pitched battle and overrunning a large part of their country.

XXVI. After these consuls¹ came the eighty-first Olympiad² (the one at which Polymnastus of Cyrenê

¹ For chaps. 26-30 cf. Livy iii. 30.

² 455 B.C.

⁵ μετειλήφει ΑΒ : μετείληφε Ρ.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

- Κυρηναῖος, Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἄρχων Καλλίας, ἐφ' οὐ τὴν
 ὑπατον ἀρχὴν ἐν 'Ρώμῃ παρέλαβον¹ Γάιος Ὀρά-
 τιος καὶ Κόιντος Μηνύκιος. ἐπὶ τούτων Σαβῖνοι
 πάλιν στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ 'Ρωμαίους πολλὴν τῆς
 χώρας αὐτῶν ἐδήσαν, καὶ ἦκον οἱ φυγόντες ἐκ
 τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀθρόοι κρατεῖσθαι πάντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὰ
 μεταξὺ Κρουστομερίας τε καὶ Φιδήνης λέγοντες.
- 2 Αἰκανοί τε οἱ νεωστὶ καταπολεμηθέντες ἐν τοῖς
 ὅπλοις αὐθις ἦσαν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀκμαιότατοι αὐτῶν
 νυκτὸς ἐλάσαντες ἐπὶ Κορβιῶνα πόλιν, ἦν τῷ²
 παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ 'Ρωμαίοις παρέδοσαν, τὴν τε
 φρουρὰν τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ κοιμωμένην εύρόντες κα-
 ἔσφαξαν πλὴν ὀλίγων, οἱ ἔτυχον ἀφυστεροῦντες, οἱ
 δὲ λοιποὶ μεγάλῃ χειρὶ στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ πόλιν
 Ὀρτῶνα³ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους ἐξ ἐφόδου κατα-
 λαμβάνονται, καὶ ὅσα 'Ρωμαίους οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦσαν
 ἐργάσασθαι, ταῦτα δι' ὄργὴν τοὺς συμμάχους αὐ-
 3 τῶν διέθεσαν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἥβῃ πάντας, πλὴν
 εἴ τινες διέφυγον εὐθὺς ἀλισκομένης τῆς πόλεως,
 ἀπέκτειναν, γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ παῖδας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ
 γηραιὰ τῶν σωμάτων ἡνδραποδίσαντο, καὶ τῶν
 χρημάτων ὅσα δύναμις ἦν αὐτοῖς φέρειν συσκευα-
 σάμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν, πρὶν ἄπαντας ἐπιβοηθῆσαι
- 4 Λατίνους, ἀνέστρεψαν.⁴ τούτων δὲ ἂμα προσαγ-
 γελλομένων ὑπό τε Λατίνων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς φρου-
 ρᾶς διασωθέντων ἡ μὲν βουλὴ στρατιὰν ἐκπέμπειν
 ἐψήφισατο καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους πορεύε-
 σθαι· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον δήμαρχοι πέμπτον

¹ Kiessling : παρέλαβε Ο.

² ἦν τῷ B : ἦν ἐν τῷ R.

³ πόλιν Ὀρτῶνα Kiessling : πόλιν . . ωρτῶνa Ba, πόλιν . .
 βοτῶνa Bb, πόλιν βιρτῶνa A.

won the foot-race), the archon at Athens being Callias, in whose term of office Gaius Horatius¹ and Quintus Minucius succeeded to the consulship at Rome. During their term of office the Sabines made another expedition against the Romans and laid waste much of their territory; and the country people who had fled from their fields arrived in great numbers, reporting that all the country between Crustumerium and Fideneae was in possession of the enemy. The Aequians also, who had been recently conquered, were once more in arms. The flower of their army, marching by night to the city of Corbio, which they had handed over to the Romans the year before, and finding the garrison there asleep, put all to the sword except a few who chanced to be late to bed. The rest of the Aequians marched in great force to Ortona, a city of the Latin nation, and took it by storm; and the injuries they were unable to inflict on the Romans they inflicted in their resentment on the Romans' allies. For they put to death all the men who were in the prime of life except those who had escaped at once while the city was being taken, and enslaved their wives and children together with the aged; then, hastily gathering together all the possessions they could carry off, they returned home before all the Latins could come to the rescue. As news of these disasters was brought simultaneously both by the Latins and by those of the garrison who had escaped, the senate voted to send out an army and that both consuls should take the field. But Verginius and his fellow tribunes, who held the same

¹ Livy gives the name as M. Horatius Pulvillus.

⁴ ἀνέστρεψαν Bb : om. ABA.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἔτος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὅντες ἔξουσίας ἐκώλυνον, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρότερον ἐποίουν ἔτεσιν, ἐνιστάμενοι ταῖς στρατολογίαις τῶν ὑπάτων, τὸν ἐντὸς τείχους πρῶτον ἀξιοῦντες καταλυθῆναι πόλεμον ἀποδοθείσης τῷ δήμῳ τῆς περὶ τοῦ νόμου διαγνώσεως ὃν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἴσηγορίας εἰσέφερον, ὃ τε δῆμος αὐτοῖς συνελάμβανε πολλοὺς κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐπι-
5 φθόνους διεξιοῦσι λόγους. Ἐλκομένου δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ οὕτε τῶν ὑπάτων ὑπομενόντων προβουλεῦσαι τε καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἔξενεγκεῖν τὸν νόμον, οὕτε τῶν δημάρχων συγχωρῆσαι βουλομένων τὴν καταγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον τῆς στρατιᾶς γενέσθαι, λόγων τε πολλῶν καὶ κατηγοριῶν ἃς ἐποιοῦντο κατ' ἄλλήλων ἐν τε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς μάτην ἀναλισκομένων, ἔτέρα τις εἰσαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ παρακρουσαμένη τὸ συνέδριον τὴν μὲν τότε κατέχουσαν στάσιν ἐπράνεν, ἔτέρων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐγένετο πλεονεκτημάτων αἵτια τῷ δήμῳ. διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν δυναστείαν ὃν τρόπον ὁ δῆμος ἔλαβε.

XXVII. Φθειρομένης¹ καὶ διαρπαζομένης τῆς τε 'Ρωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων γῆς, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς δι' ἐρημίας ἐλαυνόντων κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ μηδεμίαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔξελεύσεσθαι δύναμιν διὰ τὴν κατέχουσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει στάσιν, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι τὴν βουλὴν συνήγαγον, ὡς περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἔσχατον
2 τοῦτο βουλευσόμενοι.² ρήθέντων δὲ πολλῶν λόγων πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς γνώμην Λεύκιος Κοῦντιος, ὃ τῷ παρελθόντι γενόμενος ἔτει δικτάτωρ, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον

¹ φθειρομένης Β : φερομένης Α.

² βουλευσόμενοι R : βουλευόμενοι A.B.

power for the fifth year, sought to prevent this, as they had also done in the preceding years, opposing the levies announced by the consuls and demanding that the war inside the walls should first be terminated by allowing the populace to decide about the law which the tribunes were trying to introduce regarding an equality of rights ; and the populace joined with them in uttering many invidious charges against the senate. But as the time dragged on and neither the consuls would consent to a preliminary vote by the senate or to the laying of the law before the populace, nor the tribunes to allow the levies to be made and the army to take the field, and many speeches were made and charges hurled back and forth both in the meetings of the assembly and in the senate, all in vain, another measure that was introduced against the senate and misled its members did indeed appease the dissension then raging, but proved the source of many other great gains to the populace. I shall now give an account of the manner in which the populace secured this power.

XXVII. While the territory of both the Romans and their allies was being laid waste and plundered and the enemy marched through it as through a solitude, in the confidence that no army would come out against them by reason of the dissension then raging in the city, the consuls assembled the senate with the intention of deliberating finally this time about the whole situation. After many speeches had been made, the person who was first asked his opinion was Lucius Quintius, who had been dictator the year before, a man who had the reputation of being not

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τὰ πολέμια δεινότατος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ δοκῶν εἶναι φρονιμώτατος, γνώμην ἀπεφήνατο τήνδε¹. μάλιστα μὲν πείθειν² τούς τε δημάρχους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας τὴν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν οὐθὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κατεπείγουσαν εἰς ἔτέρους ἀναβαλέσθαι καιροὺς ἐπιτηδειοτέρους, τὸν δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ὅντα καὶ ὅσον οὕπω τῇ πόλει πλησιάζοντα πόλεμον ἄρασθαι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ, καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν τὴν μετὰ πολλῶν κτηθεῖσαν ἡγεμονίαν πόνων αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀνάνδρως ἀπολο-
3 μένην. ἔὰν δὲ μὴ πείθηται ὁ δῆμος, τοὺς πατρικίους ἄμα τοῖς πελάταις καθοπλισαμένους τῶν τ' ἄλλων πολιτῶν παραλαβόντας ὅσοις³ ἦν ἐκοῦσι συνάρασθαι τοῦ καλλίστου περὶ⁴ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνος, χωρεῖν προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον θεοὺς ὅσοι φυλάττουσι τὴν Ἀρωμαίων πόλιν ἡγεμόνας τῆς ἐξόδου ποιησα-
4 μένους. συμβήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς δυεῦν καλῶν ἔργων καὶ δικαίων θάτερον, ἢ νίκην ἐξενέγκασθαι πασῶν ὧν αὐτοὶ ποτε ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἐξηνέγκαντο λαμπροτάτην, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καλῶν εὐψύχως ἀγωνιζομένοις ἀποθανεῖν. ταύτης μέντοι τῆς καλῆς πείρας οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἀπολεύψεσθαι ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἐν ἵσῳ τοῖς κράτιστα ἐρρωμένοις παρὼν ἀγωνιεῖσθαι, οὕτε τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ πρεσβυτέρων οἷς ἐστιν ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς λόγος.

XXVIII. ‘Ως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπαι ταῦτ’ ἐδόκει καὶ οὐθεὶς ἦν ὁ τάναντία ἐρῶν, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνεκάλουν. συνελθόντος δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ καινοῖς ἀκούσμασι παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅχλου παρελθὼν ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Γάιος

¹ τήνδε Jacoby : ἐν ἦ Bb, om. R.

² πείθειν ABA : πείθει Bb.

only the ablest general but also the wisest statesman of his time. The opinion he expressed was as follows : That they should preferably persuade both the tribunes and the rest of the citizens to postpone to more suitable times their decision regarding the law, which was not at all pressing at the moment, and to undertake with all alacrity the war that was at hand and all but at their gates, and not to allow their empire, which they had acquired with many toils, to be lost in a shameful and pusillanimous fashion. But if the populace would not be persuaded, he advised that the patricians should arm themselves together with their clients, and associating with themselves such of the other citizens as were willing to take part in this most glorious struggle for the fatherland, to engage in the war with alacrity, taking as leaders of the expedition all the gods who protect the Roman state. For one or the other of two honourable and just destinies would be theirs : they would either win a victory more brilliant than all which they or their ancestors had ever won, or die fighting bravely for the noble prizes that victory brings with it. He added that neither he himself would be wanting in this glorious enterprise, but would be present and fight with a spirit equal to that of the most robust, nor would any others of the older men be wanting who had any regard for liberty and a good name.

XXVIII. All the others approving of this advice and there being no one to speak in opposition, the consuls called an assembly of the populace ; and when all the people of the city had come together in expectation of hearing something new, Gaius

³ Post : *oīs* O, Jacoby.

⁴ *περὶ* added by Post, *ὑπὲρ* by Reiske.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

‘Οράτιος ἐπειρᾶτο πείθειν τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἔκόντας
 ὑπομεῖναι καὶ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν. ἀντιλεγόν-
 των δὲ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ τοῦ δήμου προσέχοντος
 αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν παρελθῶν πάλιν ὁ ὑπατος εἶπε·
 2 “Καλόν γ’,¹ ω² Οὐεργίνιε, καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἔργον
 ἔξειργάσασθε διασπάσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τὸν
 δῆμον· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐφ’ ὑμῖν εἶναι μέρος πάντ’ ἀπ-
 ολωλέκαμεν ὅσα παρὰ τῶν προγόνων παραλαβόντες
 ἢ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πόνοις κτησάμενοι κατέσχομεν
 3 ἄγαθά.³ οὐ μὴν ἡμεῖς γ’ ἀκονιτὶ μεθησόμεθα
 αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα μετὰ τῶν βουλο-
 μένων σώζεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα χωρήσομεν ἐπὶ τὸν
 ἄγωνα τὰς ἄγαθὰς προβαλλόμενοι τῶν ἔργων
 ἐλπίδας· καὶ εἰ τις ἄρα θεὸς ἐπισκοπεῖ τοὺς καλοὺς
 καὶ δικαίους ἄγωνας, καὶ ἡ τὴν πόλιν τήνδε αὐ-
 ξουσα ἐκ πολλοῦ⁴ τύχη μήπω⁵ προλέλοιπεν αὐτήν,
 κρείττους τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἐσόμεθα· εἰ δέ τις ἄρα
 ἐνέστηκε δαίμων καὶ ἐναντιοῦται τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς
 πόλεως, οὕτοι τό γ’ ἐν ἡμῖν εὔνουν καὶ πρόθυμον
 ἀπολεῖται, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπάντων κράτιστον θάνατον
 4 αἱρησόμεθα περὶ τῆς πατρίδος. ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ
 μένοντες οἰκουρεῦτε ἀμα ταῖς γυναιξὶν, ω καλοὶ καὶ
 γενναῖοι προστάται τῆς πόλεως, ἐγκαταλιπόντες,
 μᾶλλον δὲ προδόντες, ἡμᾶς, οἰς οὔτ’ ἂν νικήσωμεν
 ἡμεῖς⁶ ὁ⁷ βίος⁸ ἔσται καλός, οὔτ’ ἂν ἄλλως χωρήσῃ
 5 τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλής· εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἐκείνη τῇ ψυχρᾷ
 ἐλπίδι ἐπαίρεσθε, ὡς διαφθαρέντων τῶν πατρικίων
 ὑμᾶς ἐάσουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ταύτην ὑπολογιζόμενοι

¹ γ' added by Cobet.

² ω B : om. R.

³ ἄγαθά R : τάγαθά B, om. Gorrer.

⁴ πολλοῦ B : πολλοῦ χρόνου R.

⁵ μήπω ABA : εὶ μήπω Bb.

Horatius, one of the consuls, came forward and attempted to persuade the plebeians to submit willingly to this campaign also. But as the tribunes opposed this and the populace gave heed to them, the consul again came forward and said : “ A fine and wonderful thing, indeed, have you tribunes accomplished, Verginius, in dividing the populace from the senate ; and, so far as it rests with you, we have lost all the advantages which we possessed, whether inherited from our ancestors or acquired by our own toils. As for us, however, we shall not part with them without a struggle, but shall take up arms along with all who desire the preservation of the fatherland and shall enter the struggle holding before our deeds the buckler of fair hopes.¹ And if any god watches over noble and just struggles, and if Fortune, which long has been exalting this commonwealth, has not yet abandoned it, we shall have the victory over our enemies ; or, if any divinity is opposed to and stands in the way of the preservation of the commonwealth, at any rate our affection and zeal for it will not perish, but we shall choose the best of all deaths—to die for the fatherland. As for you, stay here and keep house with the women, O fine and noble protectors of the commonwealth, after abandoning, or rather betraying, us ; but life for you will be neither honourable, if we conquer, nor safe, if things go otherwise with us. Unless, indeed, you are buoying yourselves up with the bleak hope that when the patricians are all destroyed the enemy will spare you in consideration of

¹ The figure is borrowed from Demosthenes, *De Cor.* 97.

⁶ ἡμεῖς B : om. R.

⁷ δ A : om. B.

⁸ βίος B : βίος ἡμῶν A.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, καὶ συγχωρήσουσιν ὑμῖν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πάντα τὰλλα ἀγαθὰ ὅσα νῦν ἔχετε καρποῦσθαι, ὥν ὑμεῖς ὅτε τὰ ἄριστα ἐφρονεῖτε πολλὴν μὲν γῆν ἀπετέμεσθε, πολλὰς δὲ πόλεις ἔξανδρα ποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψατε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ οὐδέν ὑπὸ τοῦ παντὸς αἰώνος ἀφανισθησόμενα τρόπαια καὶ 6 μνημεῖα τῆς ἔχθρας ἀνεστήσατε. ἀλλὰ τί τῷ δήμῳ ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, ὃς οὐδέποτε πονηρὸς ἐκὼν ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ὑμῖν, ὁ Οὐεργίνιε, τοῖς τὰ καλὰ ταῦτα πολιτευομένοις; ἡμῖν μὲν οὖν, οἷς ἀνάγκη μηδὲν ταπεινὸν φρονεῖν, δέδοκται τε καὶ οὐθὲν ἔσται τὸ κωλῦσον ἄρασθαι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνα, ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἐγκαταλείπουσι¹ καὶ προδιδοῦσι² τὸ κοινὸν ἥξει δίκη τιμωρὸς οὐ μεμπτὴ παρὰ θεῶν, ἐὰν ἄρα διαφύγητε τὴν παρ' ἀνθρώπων κόλασιν. 7 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταύτην³ διαφεύξεσθε· καὶ μή με δεδίττεσθαι ὑπολάβητε, ἀλλ' εὖ ἴστε ὅτι οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἡμῶν ἐνθάδε φύλακες τῆς πόλεως, ἐὰν κρείττω τὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν γένηται, φρονήσουσιν ἀ προσῆκεν αὐτοῖς φρονεῖν. οὐ γάρ ἥδη βαρβάροις μέν τισιν ἀλισκομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς νοῦν ἥλθε μήτε γυναικῶν αὐτοῖς παραχωρῆσαι μήτε παιδῶν μήτε πόλεων, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἐμπρῆσαι, τὰς⁴ 8 δὲ κατασφάξαι, 'Ρωμαίοις δ' ἄρα, οἷς ἐτέρων ἄρχειν πάτριόν ἔστιν, οὐ παραστήσεται ταῦτα περὶ ἐαυτῶν φρονεῖν; οὐχ οὕτως ἀγεννεῖς ἔσονται, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἔχθίστων ἄρξάμενοι τότε χωρήσουσι

¹ ἐγκαταλείπουσι R : ἐγκαταλιποῦσι Bb, Jacoby.

² προδιδοῦσι O : προδοῦσι Cobet, Jacoby.

³ ταύτην γε A.

⁴ τὰς Λ : τὰ B, τοὺς Sylburg.

this service and will allow you to enjoy your country, your liberty, your empire and all the other blessings you now have, notwithstanding that you, when you displayed the noblest spirit, deprived these very enemies of much land, razed many of their cities and enslaved their inhabitants, and erected many great trophies and monuments of your enmity against them which not even all time to come will ever blot out. But why do I charge this against the populace, which never became cowardly of its own accord, and not rather against you tribunes, Verginius, who are the authors of these fine measures ? We, then, who must needs show no ignoble spirit, have taken our resolution and nothing shall hinder us from undertaking the struggle in defence of the fatherland ; but upon you, who abandon and betray the commonwealth, will come a punishment not to be scorned, as vengeance from the gods, if so be that you escape the punishment of men ; yet you will not escape that either. And do not imagine that I am trying to terrify you, but be assured that those of us who will be left behind here to guard the city shall, in case the enemy should prove victorious, show that spirit which it befits them to show. Have there not indeed been instances already of barbarians who, when they were on the point of being captured by the enemy, resolved not to yield to them either their wives, their children or their cities, but to burn the cities and slay their dear ones ? And will it fail, then, to occur to the Romans, to whom it is a heritage from their fathers to rule over others, to show this same spirit in their own case ? They will never be so degenerate, but will begin with you who are their worst enemies and only afterwards

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πρὸς τὰ φίλια. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁρῶντες ἐκκλησιάζετε καὶ νόμους εἰσφέρετε καινούς.”

XXIX. Ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια εἰπὼν παρεστήσατο τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πατρικίων κλαίοντας, οὓς ἴδοντες πολλοὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ κατέχειν τὰ δάκρυα ἔδύναντο. γενομένης δὲ πολλῆς συμπαθείας πρὸς τε τὰς ἡλικίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄξιας μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ὁ ὑπα-
 2 τος, “Οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε,” ἔφησεν, “ὦ πολῖται, οὐδὲ κατὰ γῆς δύεσθε, εἰ οἶδε οἱ γέροντες ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τῶν νέων τὰ ὅπλα ἀναλήψουνται, ἀλλ’ ὑπομενεῖτε ἀπολειφθῆναι τούτων ἡγουμένων, οὓς ἀεὶ πατέρας ἐκαλεῖτε; ὦ σχέτλιοι ὑμεῖς καὶ οὐδὲ πολῖται ταύτης ἄξιοι λέγεσθαι¹ τῆς γῆς, ἣν ἔκτισαν οἱ τοὺς πατέρας ἐπὶ τῶν ὕμων ἐνέγκαντες, οὓς καὶ δι’ ὅπλων καὶ διὰ πυρὸς ὁδοὺς ἀσφαλεῖς θεοὶ παρ-
 3 ἐσχον.” ὡς δὲ κατέμαθεν ὁ² Οὐεργίνιος ἀγόμενον τὸν δῆμον ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων, δεδοικώς μὴ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην κοινωνεῖν ὑπομείνη τοῦ πολέμου, παρελθὼν εἶπεν· “‘Ημεῖς οὗτοι’ ἐγκαταλείπομεν οὔτε προδίδομεν ὑμᾶς, ὦ πατέρες, οὐδὲ ἀπολειφθείμεν ὑμῶν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ πρότερον ἡξιώσαμεν οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπολειφθῆναι στρατείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῆν αἴρούμεθα σὺν ὑμῖν καὶ πάσχειν ὃ τι ἀν τῷ
 4 δαιμονι δοκῇ μεθ’ ὑμῶν. πρόθυμοι δ’ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ περὶ ὑμᾶς γεγονότες ἀξιοῦμεν³ μετρίας παρ’ ὑμῶν τυχεῖν χάριτος, ὥσπερ τῶν κοινῶν κινδύνων ἰσομοιροῦμεν ὑμῖν, οὕτως καὶ τῶν δικαίων τὸ ἵσον

¹ λέγεσθαι B : om. R. ² ὁ Steph. : om AB.

³ ἀξιοῦμεν A : ἡξιοῦμεν B.

turn to their loved ones. Consider these matters before you hold your assemblies and introduce new laws."

XXIX. After he had said this and many things to the same purport, he brought before them the oldest patricians in tears, at sight of whom many of the plebeians could not even themselves refrain from weeping. When great compassion had been aroused both by the age and the dignity of these men, the consul, after a short pause, said : " Are you not ashamed, citizens, and ready to sink beneath the earth, when these old men are going to take up arms in defence of you who are young ? Will you bear to abandon these leaders whom you always called fathers ? Wretched men that you are, and unworthy even to be called citizens of this land settled by men who carried their fathers on their shoulders,¹ men to whom the gods granted a safe passage through arms and through fire ! " When Verginius perceived that the people were moved by these words, he was afraid lest, contrary to his desire, they might consent to join in the war ; and coming forward, he said : " As for us, we are neither abandoning nor betraying you, fathers, nor would we desert you, even as we have hitherto never declined taking part in any expedition ; on the contrary, we choose both to live with you and to suffer with you whatever Heaven shall decree. But since we have at all times been zealous in your service, we desire to receive from you a moderate favour—that, even as we share the common dangers with you, so we may also enjoy an equality

¹ Dionysius generalizes the well-known legend concerning Aeneas and his father Anchises in their flight from burning Troy.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἔχειν, νόμους καταστησάμενοι φύλακας¹ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οἷς ἄπαντες ἀεὶ χρησόμεθα. εἰ δὲ προσίσταται τοῦθ' ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῦτε τοῖς ἔαυτῶν πολίταις ταύτην συγχωρῆσαι τὴν χάριν, ἀλλὰ θανάτου τιμᾶσθε τὸ μεταδοῦναι τῷ δήμῳ τῆς ἴσηγορίας, οὐκέτι φιλονεικοῦμεν ὑμῖν· αἰτησόμεθα δ' ἔτέραν παρ' ὑμῶν χάριν, ἃς τυχόντες ἵσως ἀν οὐδὲ καινῶν ἔτι δεηθείημεν νόμων. εἰσέρχεται δ' ἡμᾶς εὐλάβεια, μή ποτε οὐδὲ ταύτης τύχωμεν, ἐξ ἃς τῇ βουλῇ μὲν οὐδὲν ἔσται βλάβος, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ τιμῆς ὑπάρξει καὶ φιλανθρωπία.”

XXX. Εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ ὑπάτου ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα τῇ βουλῇ συγχωροῦντες οὐθενὸς ἄλλου ἀμαρτήσονται τῶν μετρίων, καὶ κελεύοντος λέγειν ὅτου δέονται, ὀλίγα διαλεχθεὶς τοῖς συνάρχουσιν ὁ Οὐεργίνιος ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἔφησεν ἐρεῦν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συναγαγόντων τὸ συνέδριον τῶν ὑπάτων παρελθὼν καὶ τὰ δίκαια τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἄπαντα εἰσενεγκάμενος² ἥτήσατο διπλασιασθῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν προϊσταμένην τοῦ δήμου, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν πέντε δημάρχων δέκα εἰς ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδείκνυσθαι. τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βλάβην οὐδεμίαν ὤντο τῷ κοινῷ φέρειν, ἀλλὰ διδόναι καὶ μὴ ἀντιπράττειν παρήνουν, ἄρχοντος τῆς γνώμης Λευκίου Κοϊντίου, τοῦ τότε μέγιστον ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κράτος. εἰς δὲ μόνος ἀντέλεγε Γάιος Κλαύδιος, υἱὸς Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου, τοῦ παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τοῖς εἰσηγήμασι τῶν δημοτικῶν, εἴ τινα μὴ νόμυμα ἦν, ἐναντιωθέντος, διαδεδεγμένος τὰ πολι-

¹ φύλακας ομ. Α.

² εἰσενεγκάμενος Α : ἐνεγκάμενος Β, εἰς ἐν συνενεγκάμενος Reiske.

of rights, by instituting as safeguards of our liberty laws which we shall all alike use always. However, if this proposal offends you and you do not deign to grant this favour to your fellow citizens, but regard it as a capital crime to give the populace an equal share of rights, we shall no longer contend with you ; but we shall ask another favour of you, upon obtaining which we may possibly no longer stand in need of new laws. We have a shrewd suspicion, however, that we shall not obtain even this favour—one which, while doing no injury to the senate, will bring to the populace a kind of honour and general goodwill."

XXX. When the consul replied that if the tribunes would yield on this measure to the senate they would be denied nothing else that was reasonable, and ordered him to state what they desired, Verginius, after a short conference with his colleagues, said he would announce it in the senate. Thereupon, when the consuls had convened the senate, Verginius came forward, and after presenting to that body all the just demands of the populace, asked that the magistracy which protected the populace should be doubled and that instead of five tribunes ten should be chosen every year. Most of the senators thought this would cause no harm to the commonwealth and advised granting it without offering any opposition ; this opinion was first offered by Lucius Quintius, who at that time had the greatest authority in the senate. Only one person, Gaius Claudius, spoke against it. He was the son of Appius Claudius, who had on every occasion opposed the measures of the plebeians when any of them were contrary to law ; he had inherited

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τεύματα τοῦ πατρός, καὶ δτ' αὐτὸς εἶχε τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν κωλύσας δοθῆναι τοῖς δημάρχοις τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἵππεων τῶν ἐπὶ¹ τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ διαβαλλομένων ἔξέτασιν, καὶ μακρὸν διεξελθὼν λόγον ἔδιδασκεν ὅτι μετριώτερος μὲν ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χρηστότερος ἔσται διπλασιασθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς,
 4 ἀνοητότερος δὲ καὶ βαρύτερος. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ρήτορις τισι παραλήψεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοὺς ὕστερον ἀποδειχθησομένους, ὥστε μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς καθεστηκόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας αὐθις προθήσειν² λόγον³ καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἴσοτιμίας,⁴ καὶ πάντας ἔξῆς ζητήσειν ὅ τι λέγοντες ἢ πράττοντες τὸ μὲν τοῦ δήμου κράτος αὐξήσουσι, τὰς δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τιμὰς καταλύσουσι. καὶ σφόδρα ἐκίνησε
 5 τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ λόγος. ἔπειτα μετήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Κοῦντιος διδάσκων ὅτι πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἔστι τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοῦ δήμου προστάτας. ἥττον γὰρ ὁμονοήσειν τοὺς πλείους⁵ τῶν ἐλαττόνων, μίαν δὲ βοήθειαν εἶναι τοῖς κοινοῖς, ἦν "Αππιον Κλαύδιον τὸν Γαῖον πατέρα πρῶτον ἰδεῖν, ἐὰν στασιάζῃ τὸ
 6 ἀρχεῖον⁶ καὶ μὴ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ δοκῆ. ἐδόκει τε δὴ ταῦτα καὶ γίνεται δόγμα βουλῆς· ἔξειναι τῷ δήμῳ δέκα δημάρχους καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύναι, τῶν δὲ τότε ὄντων ἐν ἀρχῇ μηθένα. τοῦτο τὸ προβούλευμα οἱ περὶ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον λαβόντες ἔξήνεγκαν καὶ κυρώσαντες τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γραφέντα

¹ ἐπὶ Sylburg : ἐν O.

² προθήσειν B : προσθήσειν R.

³ νόμον Cobet. ⁴ ἴσονομίας Spelman, Cobet.

⁵ Sylburg : πλείστους O.

⁶ Sylburg : ἄρχον O.

the political principles of his father, and when he himself was consul, had prevented the inquiry concerning the knights accused of conspiracy from being committed to the tribunes. This man made a long speech, pointing out that the populace, if their magistracy were doubled, would not be any more moderate or worthy, but more stupid and more troublesome. For the tribunes to be chosen thereafter, he said, would not receive the magistracy upon certain definite terms, so as to adhere to the established customs, but would again bring up the question of the allotment of lands and that of an equality of privileges,¹ and all of them in turn would seek both by their words and by their actions to increase the power of the populace and abolish the privileges of the senate. This speech had a great effect upon most of the senators. Then Quintius brought them over again by showing that it was to the interest of the senate that there should be many champions of the populace. For there would be less harmony among many than among a few, and there was just one way of relieving the commonwealth, a way that Appius Claudius, the father of Gaius, had been the first to perceive—namely, if there should be dissension and lack of unanimity in the college of tribunes. This opinion prevailed, and the senate passed a decree that the populace should be permitted to appoint ten tribunes each year, but that no one of the men then in office should be eligible. Verginius and his colleagues, having got this preliminary decree from the senate, laid it before the populace ; and when they had secured the rati-

¹ Or “honours,” in the sense of “offices.” Spelman and Cobet would read “equality of laws.”

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

νόμον δέκα δημάρχους εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπέδειξαν.

7 Παυσαμένης δὲ τῆς στάσεως καταγράψαυτες τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ ὑπατοι διεκληρώσαντο τὰς ἔξοδους· Μηνυκίῳ μὲν οὖν ὁ κατὰ Σαβίνων πόλεμος ἐδόθη, ‘Ορατίῳ δὲ ὁ κατ’ Αἰκανῶν, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἔξήσαν ἀμφότεροι. Σαβῖνοι μὲν οὖν τὰς πόλεις διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχοντες ὑπερεῖδον ἀγομένων τε καὶ φερομένων ἀπάντων τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἄγρούς, Αἰκανοὶ δὲ τὴν ἐναντιωσομένην ‘Ρωμαίοις δύναμιν 8 ἀπέστειλαν. ἀγωνισάμενοι δὲ λαμπρῶς οὐχ οἷοί τε ἐγένοντο τὴν ‘Ρωμαίων ὑπερβαλέσθαι δύναμιν, ἀλλ’ ἡναγκάσθησαν εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἀπελθεῖν ἀποβαλόντες τὸ πολίχνιον ὑπὲρ οὐ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιοῦντο. ‘Οράτιος δὲ τρεψάμενος τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πολλὰ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν κακώσας τοῦ τε Κορβιῶνος τὰ τείχη κατασπάσας καὶ τὰς οἰκήσεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνελὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπ’ οἴκου.

XXXI. Τῷ δ’ ἔξῆς ἔτει Μάρκου Οὐαλερίου καὶ Σπορίου Οὐεργινίου τὴν ὑπατείαν ἔχόντων στρατιὰ μὲν ὑπερόριος οὐδεμίᾳ ἔξηλθε ‘Ρωμαίων, πολιτικὰ δέ τινα¹ προσκρούσματα² τοῖς δημάρχοις πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους συνέστη πάλιν, ἐξ ὧν ἔσχον οἱ δήμαρχοι παρασπάσαντές τι τῆς ὑπατικῆς δυναστείας. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἐκκλησίας μόνον ἦσαν οἱ δήμαρχοι κύριοι, βουλὴν δὲ συνάγειν ἢ γνώμην ἀγορεύειν οὐκ ἔξῆν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ’ ἦν τῶν ὑπάτων 2 τοῦτο τὸ γέρας. οἱ δὲ τότε δήμαρχοι πρῶτοι συγκαλεῖν ἐπεβάλοντο τὴν βουλὴν ‘Ικιλλίου τὴν πεῖραν εἰσηγησαμένου, ὃς ἥγειτο μὲν τοῦ ἀρχείου, δραστήριος δέ τις ἦν ἀνὴρ καὶ ὡς ‘Ρωμαῖος εἰπεῖν

¹ τινα B : om. R.

sification of the law embodying the measure, they chose ten tribunes for the following year.

After the sedition was appeased the consuls enrolled their forces and drew lots for their commands. To Minucius fell the war against the Sabines and to Horatius that against the Aequians ; and both set out in haste. The Sabines garrisoned their cities and permitted everything in the country districts to be pillaged ; but the Aequians sent an army to oppose the Romans. Though they fought brilliantly, they were unable to overcome the Roman army, but were compelled to retire to their cities after the loss of the small town in defence of which they were fighting. Horatius, after putting the enemy to flight, ravaged a large part of their country, razed the walls of Corbio and demolished the houses to their foundations, then led his army home.

XXXI. The following year,¹ when Marcus Valerius and Spurius Verginius were consuls, no army of the Romans went out of their borders, but there were fresh outbreaks of civil strife between the tribunes and the consuls, as a result of which the former wrested away some part of the consular power. Before this time the power of the tribunes was limited to the popular assembly and they had no authority either to convene the senate or to express an opinion there, that being a prerogative of the consuls. The tribunes of the year in question were the first who undertook to convene the senate, the experiment being made by Icilius, the head of their college, a man of action and, for a Roman, not lacking in elo-

¹ For chaps. 31 f. cf. Livy iii. 31, 1.

² προσκρούματα B : προσκρούματα R.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

οὐκ ἀδύνατος. εἰσέφερε γάρ τι καὶ οὗτος πολίτευμα καινὸν ἀξιῶν ἀπομερισθῆναι τοῖς δημόταις τόπον εἰς οἰκιῶν κατασκευὰς τὸν καλούμενον Αὔεντῖνον. ἔστι δὲ λόφος ὑψηλὸς ἐπιεικῶς, οὐκ ἐλάττων ἢ δώδεκα σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον, ἐμπεριεχόμενος τῇ πόλει, ὃς οὐχ ἅπας τότε ὥκεῖτο,¹ ἀλλ' ἦν δη-
 3 μόσιός τε καὶ ὅλης ἀνάπλεως. τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα εἰσάγων ὁ δῆμαρχος τοῖς τότε ὑπάτοις καὶ τῇ βουλῇ προσήγει δεόμενος τὸν ἐπ'² αὐτῷ γραφέντα νόμον προβουλεῦσαί τε καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἔξενεγκεῖν. ἀναβαλλομένων δὲ καὶ παρελκόντων τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν χρόνον πέμψας τὸν ὑπηρέτην ὡς αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν συγκαλεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ῥαβδούχων τις ἀπῆλασε τὸν ὑπηρέτην κελευσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων,³ ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Ἰκίλλιος καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες αὐτοῦ, συνέλαβον τὸν ῥαβδούχον καὶ ἀπῆγον ὡς ρίψοντες
 4 κατὰ τῆς πέτρας. οἵ δὲ ὕπατοι βιάσασθαι μὲν ἢ τὸν ἀγόμενον ἀφελέσθαι, καίτοι δεινὰ δοκοῦντες ὑβρίσθαι, ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν, ἐπεκαλοῦντο δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων δημάρχων βοήθειαν. οὐθὲν γὰρ τῶν πραττομένων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἐπισχεῖν ἢ κωλῦσαι τῶν ἄλλων τινὶ ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' ἐτέρου δημ-
 5 ἀρχον τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ κράτος. τοῖς δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἦν ταῦτα κατ' ἀρχὰς δεδογμένα μήτ' εἰσηγήσασθαι τινα καινὸν πολίτευμα μηθὲν ἐφ' ἔαντοῦ⁴ βαλό-
 μενον,⁵ ἐὰν μὴ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ δοκῆ, μήτε ἐναντιω-
 θῆναι τινα τοῖς πραττομένοις ὅσ' ἄν⁶ αἱ πλείους

¹ ὥκεῖτο B : ὥκητο R.

² ἐπ' B : ἐν R.

³ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων B : om. R.

quence. For he too was at that time proposing a new measure, asking that the region called the Aventine be divided among the plebeians for the building of houses. This is a hill of moderate height, not less than twelve stades in circuit, and is included within the city ; not all of it was then inhabited, but it was public land and thickly wooded. In order to get this measure introduced, the tribune went to the consuls of the year and to the senate, asking them to pass the preliminary vote for the law embodying the measure and to submit it to the populace. But when the consuls kept putting it off and protracting the time, he sent his attendant to them with orders that they should follow him to the office of the tribunes and call together the senate. And when one of the lictors at the orders of the consuls drove away the attendant, Icilius and his colleagues in their resentment seized the lictor and led him away with the intention of hurling him down from the rock.¹ The consuls, though they looked upon this as a great insult, were unable to use force or to rescue the man who was being led away, but invoked the assistance of the other tribunes ; for no one but another tribune has a right to stop or hinder any of the actions of those magistrates. Now the tribunes had all come to this decision at the outset, that no one of their number should either introduce any new measure on his own initiative, unless they all concurred in it, or oppose any proceedings which met with the approval of the

¹ The Tarpeian Rock.

⁴ Kayser : έαυτώ Ο.

⁵ βαλόμενον B : βουλόμενον A.

⁶ ὅσ' ἀν Jacoby, ὅπερ ἀν Kiessling, ἀπερ ἀν Kayser : ὁ γὰρ
ἀν B, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀν A.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

γνῶμαι δοκιμάσωσι¹. καὶ περὶ τούτων εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἵερὰ θύσαντες ὄρκους ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, οὕτως οἰόμενοι μάλιστα τὸ τῆς δημαρχίας ἀκατάλυτον ἔσεσθαι κράτος, ἐὰν τὸ στασιάζον ἔξ αὐτῆς ἀναιρεθῇ. τοῦτο δὴ φυλάττοντες τὸ συνωμόσιον εἶπον ἀπάγεσθαι τὸν φύλακα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν ὑπάτων, κοινὴν ἀπάντων εἶναι λέγοντες τὴν γνῶμην· οὐ μὴν διέμεινάν γ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὁργῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου παραιτουμένοις τὸν ἄνδρα ἀφῆκαν,² τόν τε φθόνον ὑφορώμενοι τοῦ πράγματος, ὅτι πρῶτοι ἔμελλον θανάτῳ ζημιώσαι ἄνδρα³ τὸ κελευσθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων ποιήσαντα, καὶ δεδοικότες μὴ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς προφάσεως εἰς ἀπόνοιαν ἀναγκασθῶσιν οἱ πατρίκιοι τραπέσθαι.

XXXII. Μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον συναχθείσης τῆς βουλῆς οἱ μὲν ὅπατοι κατηγορίαν πολλὴν τῶν δημάρχων ἐποιήσαντο· παραλαβὼν δὲ τὸν λόγον Ἰκίλλιος⁴ περὶ τε τῆς εἰς τὸν ὑπηρέτην ὁργῆς ἀπελογεῖτο τοὺς ἱεροὺς προφερόμενος νόμους, καθ' οὓς οὗτε ἀρχοντι οὕτ' ἴδιώτῃ συνεχωρεῖτο πράττειν οὐδὲν ἐναντίον δημάρχῳ, καὶ περὶ τοῦ συγκαλεῖν τὴν βουλὴν ἐδίδασκεν ὡς οὐθὲν εἴη πεποιηκὼς ἄτοπον, πολλοὺς καὶ παντοδαποὺς εἰς τοῦτο παρασκευασάμενος λόγους. ὡς δ' ἀπελύσατο ταύτας τὰς κατηγορίας, τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόφου νόμον⁵ εἰσέφερεν. ἦν δὲ τοιόσδε· ὅσα μὲν ἴδιωται τινες εἶχον ἐκ τοῦ⁶ δικαίου κτησάμενοι, ταῦτα τοὺς κυρίους

¹ δοκιμάσωσι ΑΒ : δοκιμάσωσι τοῦτ' εἶναι κύριον R.

² Sylburg : ἀφῆκαν O.

³ ἄνδρα Reiske : τὸν ἄνδρα O, Jacoby.

⁴ Ἰκίλλιος ΑΒ : ὁ Ἰκίλλιος Steph., Jacoby.

majority ; and just as soon as they had assumed their magistracy they had confirmed this agreement by sacrifices and mutual oaths, believing that the power of the tribuneship would be most effectively rendered impregnable if dissension were banished from it. It was in pursuance, then, of this sworn compact that they ordered the consuls' guardian¹ to be led away, declaring this to be the unanimous decision of their body. Nevertheless, they did not persist in their resentment, but released the man at the intercession of the oldest senators ; for they were not only concerned about the odium that would attend such a procedure, if they should be the first to punish a man by death for obeying an order of the magistrates, but also feared that with this provocation the patricians might be driven to take desperate measures.

XXXII. After this action the senate was assembled and the consuls indulged in many accusations against the tribunes. Then Icilius took the floor and attempted to justify the tribunes' resentment against the lictor, citing the sacred laws which did not permit either a magistrate or a private citizen to offer any opposition to a tribune ; and as for his attempt to convene the senate, he showed them that he had done nothing out of the way, using for this purpose many arguments of every sort, which he had prepared beforehand. After answering these accusations, he proceeded to introduce his law concerning the hill. It was to this effect : All the parcels of land held by private citizens, if justly acquired, should remain

¹ Literally, “the guardian of the consuls' office,” i.e. the lictor.

⁵ λόφου νόμον Α : νόμον λόγον Β.

⁶ τοῦ added by Kiessling.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

κατέχειν· ὅσα δὲ βιασάμενοί τινες ἦ κλοπῇ λαβόντες ὡκοδομήσαντο, κομισαμένους τὰς δαπάνας, ἃς ἂν οἱ διαιτηταὶ γυνῶσι, τῷ δῆμῳ παραδιδόναι· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἦν¹ δημόσια, χωρὶς ὥντης τὸν δῆμον παραλαβόντα διελέσθαι. ἔδιδασκέ τε ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα εἰς πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα συνοίσει τῇ πόλει, μάλιστα δὲ εἰς τὸ μὴ στασιάζειν ἔτι περὶ τῆς δημοσίας χώρας τοὺς πένητας ἦν οἱ πατρίκιοι κατεῖχον. ἀγαπήσειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῆς πόλεως λαχόντας μέρος, ἐπειδὴ τῆς χώρας οὐκ ἔξεστι διὰ τοὺς ἐσφετερισμένους αὐτὴν πολλοὺς ὄντας καὶ 4 δυνατούς. τοιούτων ρήθεντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγων ὁ μὲν ἀντιλέγων Γάιος Κλαύδιος ἦν μόνος, οἱ δὲ συγκατανεύοντες² πολλοί, καὶ ἔδοξε διδόναι τῷ δῆμῳ τὸν τόπον. μετὰ τοῦτο ἱεροφαντῶν τε παρόντων καὶ οἰωνοσκόπων καὶ ἱεροποιῶν δυεῦν καὶ ποιησαμένων τὰς νομίμους εὐχάσ τε καὶ ἀρὰς ἐν τῇ λοχίτιδι ἐκκλησίᾳ συναχθείσῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ νόμος ἐκυρώθη, ὃς ἐστιν ἐν στήλῃ χαλκῇ γεγραμμένος, ἦν ἀνέθεσαν ἐν τῷ Αὔεντίνῳ κομίσαντες εἰς 5 τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν. κυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου συνελθόντες οἱ δημοτικοὶ τά τε οἰκόπεδα διελάγχανον καὶ κατωκοδόμουν ὅσον ἔκαστοι τόποι δυνηθεῖεν ἀπολαμβάνοντες. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ σύνδυο καὶ σύντρεις³ καὶ ἔτι πλείους συνιόντες οἰκίαν κατεσκευάζοντο μίαν, ἐτέρων μὲν τὰ κατάγεια λαγχανόντων, ἐτέρων δὲ τὰ ὑπερῶα. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐνιαυτὸς ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὰς κατασκευὰς τῶν οἰκήσεων ἐδαπανήθη.

¹ ὅσα ἦν B : ὅσα ἂν ἦ R.

² συγκατανεύοντες L. Dindorf, συναγορεύοντες Reiske, συγκατανοῦντες Jacoby : συγκαταλέγοντες O.

in the possession of the owners, but such parcels as had been taken by force or fraud by any persons and built upon should be turned over to the populace and the present occupants reimbursed for their expenditures according to the appraisal of the arbitrators ; all the remainder, belonging to the public, the populace should receive free of cost and divide up among themselves. He also pointed out that this measure would be advantageous to the commonwealth, not only in many other ways, but particularly in this, that it would put an end to the disturbances raised by the poor concerning the public land that was held by the patricians. For he said they would be contented with receiving a portion of the city, inasmuch as they could have no part of the land lying in the country because of the number and power of those who had appropriated it. After he had spoken thus, Gaius Claudius was the only person who opposed the law, while many gave their assent ; and it was voted to give the district to the populace. Later, at a centuriate assembly called by the consuls, the pontiffs being present together with the augurs and two sacrificers and offering the customary vows and imprecations, the law was ratified. It is inscribed on a column of bronze, which they set up on the Aventine after taking it into the sanctuary of Diana. When the law had been ratified, the plebeians assembled, and after drawing lots for the plots of ground, began to build, each man taking as large an area as he could ; and sometimes two, three, or even more joined together to build one house, and drawing lots, some had the lower and others the upper stories. That year, then, was employed in building houses.

³ σύντρεις Sylburg : τρεῖς O.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

XXXIII. Ό δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον, ἐνῷ τὴν ὑπατον
 ἀρχὴν παρειλήφεσαν Τίτος 'Ρωμύλιος καὶ Γάιος
 Οὐετούριος, δῆμαρχοι δ' ἥσαν οἱ περὶ Λεύκιον
 Ἰκίλλιον τὸ δεύτερον ἄρχειν ἔξῆς αἱρεθέντες, οὐχ
 ἀπλοῦς, ἀλλὰ ποικίλος τις ἐγένετο καὶ μεγάλων
 μεστὸς πραγμάτων. ᾧ τε γὰρ πολιτικὴ στάσις,
 ἦδη μεμαράνθαι δοκοῦσα, ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων πάλιν
 ἀνεκινεῖτο, καὶ πόλεμοί τινες ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν
 ἀνέστησαν, οἵ κακὸν μὲν οὐθὲν διαθεῖναι τὴν πόλιν
 ἥδυνήθησαν, οὐ μικρὰν δὲ ὠφέλειαν, τὸ στασιάζον
 2 ἀνελόντες ἔξι αὐτῆς. ἐγκύκλιον γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ
 ἐν ἔθει ἦν ἦδη τῇ πόλει πολεμουμένη μὲν ὅμονοεῖν,
 εἰρήνην δὲ ἀγούσῃ στασιάζειν. τοῦτο συνιδόντες
 ἄπαντες οἱ τὰς ὑπάτους ἄρχας παραλαβόντες κατ'
 εὐχὰς μὲν εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἀνασταίη¹ πόλεμος ἐλάμβα-
 νον· ἡσυχαζόντων δὲ τῶν ἀντιπάλων αὐτοὶ κατ-
 εσκεύαζον ἐγκλήματα καὶ προφάσεις πολέμων, ἅτε
 ὄρωντες διὰ μὲν τοὺς πολέμους μεγάλην καὶ εὐ-
 δαιμονα γινομένην τὴν πόλιν, διὰ δὲ τὰς στάσεις
 3 ταπεινὴν καὶ ἀσθενῆ. οἷς ὅμοια γνόντες οἱ τότε
 ὑπατοι στρατιὰν ἔξαγεν ἔκριναν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολε-
 μίους, δεδουκότες μή τι διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄρξωνται
 ταράττειν ἄργοι καὶ πένητες ἄνθρωποι, τοῦτο μὲν
 ὄρθως ἴδοντες,² ὅτι δεῖ περισπᾶσαι τὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ
 τοὺς ἔξω πολέμους, τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ὄρθως.
 δέον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν νοσούσῃ πόλει μετρίαις
 χρῆσθαι ταῖς στρατολογίαις, ἐπὶ τὸ βίᾳ προσ-
 αναγκάζειν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐτράποντο, οὕτε παρ-
 αίτησιν οὕτε συγγνώμην οὐδενὶ διδόντες οὐδεμίαν,
 ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις εἴς τε τὰ σώμα-

¹ Cobet : ἐπανασταίη O, Jacoby.

² ίδοντες Ba : εἰδότες R.

XXXIII. The following year,¹ when Titus Romilius and Gaius Veturius had succeeded to the consulship and Lucius Icilius and his colleagues were tribunes, chosen to hold the office for the second time in succession, was not all of one tenor, but varied and fraught with great events. For the civil strife, which seemed to have died down at last, was again stirred up by the tribunes, and some foreign wars arose which, without being able to do the commonwealth any harm, did her a great service by banishing the dissension. For it had by now become the regular and customary thing for the commonwealth to be harmonious in time of war and to be at odds in time of peace. All who assumed the consulship, being well aware of this, regarded it as an answer to prayer if a foreign war arose; and when their enemies were quiet, they themselves contrived grievances and excuses for wars, since they perceived that through its wars the commonwealth became great and flourishing, but through seditions humiliated and weak. The consuls of that year, having come to this same conclusion, decided to make an expedition against the enemy, fearing that idle and poor men might because of the prevailing peace begin to raise disturbances; but though they were right in perceiving that the multitude ought to be kept employed in foreign wars, they erred in what they subsequently did. For, whereas they ought, in view of the sickly condition of the commonwealth, to have made the levies with moderation, they resorted instead to violence and compulsion in dealing with the disobedient, granting neither excuse nor pardon to anyone, but harshly imposing the penalties ordained by the laws upon both their

¹ For chaps. 33-47 cf. Livy iii. 31, 2-4.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

4 τα καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν πικρῶς χρώμενοι. ταῦτα ποιούντων αὐτῶν ἀφορμὴν αὖθις εἰλήφεσαν οἱ δῆμαρχοι τοῦ δημαγωγεῖν τὰ πλήθη· καὶ συναγαγόντες ἐκκλησίαν¹ τά τ’ ἄλλα τῶν ὑπάτων κατεβόων, καὶ ὅτι πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκέλευσαν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπάγειν τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἔξουσίαν ἐπικαλεσαμένους, τῆς τε στρατολογίας ἀπολύειν ἔφασαν αὐτοὶ δὴ μόνοι, ἔξουσίαν ἐκ τῶν νόμων 5 ἔχοντες.² ὡς δ’ οὐθὲν ἐπέραινον, ἀλλ’ ἐπιστρεφεστέρας ἔτι τὰς καταγραφὰς ἔώρων γινομένας, ἔργοις κωλύειν ἐπεβάλλοντο. ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τῷ κράτει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐρεθισμοί τέ τινες ἐγίνοντο καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιβολαί. συνηγωνίζετο δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὑπάτοις ἡ τῶν πατρικίων νεότης, τοῖς 6 δὲ δημάρχοις ὁ πένης καὶ ἀργὸς ὄχλος. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν παρὰ πολὺ κρείττους ἐγένοντο τῶν δημάρχων οἱ ὑπατοι, ταῖς δ’ ἔξης ἡμέραις πλείονος ὄχλου συρρέοντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, δόξαντες οἱ δῆμαρχοι προσειληφέναι χεῖρα ἀξιόμαχον ἐκκλησίας τε συνεχεῖς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας κακῶς διακειμένους ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν ἐπεδείκνυσαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλεγον ἀποθήσεσθαι εἰ μή τις αὐτοῖς ἔσται παρὰ τοῦ δήμου βοήθεια.

XXXIV. Συναγανακτοῦντος δ’ αὐτοῖς τοῦ πλήθους ἐκάλουν τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπὶ³ τὸν δῆμον ὡς τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑφέξοντας λόγον. ὡς δ’ οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι τὸν νοῦν, ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν παρῆσαν (ἔτυχον γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων συνεδρεύοντες) καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδέοντο μήθ’ αὐτοὺς τὰ ἔσχατα⁴

¹ ἐκκλησίαν R : εἰς ἐκκλησίαν B, Jacoby.

² ἔφασαν αὐτοὶ δὴ μόνοι ἔξουσίαν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἔχοντες B : ἔφασαν οἱ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἔξουσίαν ἔχοντες A.

persons and their property. While they were doing this, the tribunes took occasion to stir up the masses again with their harangues ; and calling an assembly, they denounced the consuls on various scores, but particularly for having ordered many citizens to be haled to prison even though they had invoked the protection of the tribunes ; and they said that they themselves on their own responsibility released the people from the levy, having as they did authority to do so under the laws. When this had no effect and they saw the levies being carried out with still greater strictness, they undertook to obstruct them by deeds ; and when the consuls resisted with the power of their magistracy also, there were sundry provocations and acts of violence. The consuls were supported by the young patricians, and the tribunes by the poor and idle multitude. That day the consuls proved much superior to the tribunes ; but in the course of the following days, as increasing numbers flocked into the city from the country, the tribunes thought they had now acquired an adequate force, and holding one assembly after another, they exhibited their assistants, who were in a bad condition from the blows they had received, and said they would resign their magistracy if they did not get some assistance from the populace.

XXXIV. The multitude sharing in their resentment, the tribunes summoned the consuls to appear before their assembly in order to render an account of their actions. But as these paid no heed to them, they went to the senate, which happened to be deliberating about this very matter, and coming forward, asked the members not to permit either

³ ἐπὶ B : εἰς R.

⁴ Cobet : αἰσχιστα O, Jacoby.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πεπονθότας ὑπεριδεῖν μήτε τὸν δῆμον ἀφαιρεθέντα
 τὴν ἔξ αὐτῶν¹ βοήθειαν, διεξιόντες ὅσα ἦσαν πε-
 πονθότες ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τῆς² περὶ αὐτὸὺς
 συνωμοσίας, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὴν ἔξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 2 εἰς τὰ σώματα προπηλακισθέντες. ἡξίουν τε δυεῦν
 θάτερον ποιεῦν τοὺς ὑπάτους· εἰ μὲν ἀρνοῦνται μη-
 δὲν ὃν οἱ νόμοι κεκωλύκασιν εἰς τὰ τῶν δημάρχων
 πλημμελῆσαι σώματα, παραγενομένους εἰς τὴν ἐκ-
 κλησίαν ἀπομόσαι, εἰ δ' οὐχ ὑπομένουσι τὸν ὄρκον,
 3 ἥκειν ἐπὶ τοὺς δημότας λόγον ὑφέξοντας· ἀναδώσειν
 γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ταῖς φυλαῖς τὴν ψῆφον. οἱ δ' ὕπα-
 τοι πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀπελογοῦντο, διδάσκοντες ὅτι τῆς³
 ὕβρεως οἱ δήμαρχοι ἄρξειαν αὐθαδείᾳ χρησάμενοι
 καὶ τολμήσαντες εἰς ὑπάτων σώματα παρανομεῖν,
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπηρέταις τε καὶ ἀγορανόμοις
 ἐπιτάττοντες ἄγειν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἄρχοντας
 οἷς τὸ πάντων ἀποδέδοται κράτος, ἐπειτ' αὐτοὶ
 τολμήσαντες ὁμόσε χωρεῖν σὺν τοῖς ἵταμωτάτοις
 4 τῶν δημοτικῶν· τάς τε ἀρχὰς διδάσκοντες ὅσον
 ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν, ἡ μὲν ὑπατικὴ τὸ τῶν βασι-
 λέων ἔχουσα κράτος, ἡ δὲ δημαρχικὴ τῆς βοηθείας
 ἔνεκα παρεληλυθῦνα τῶν κατισχυομένων, ἡ τοσού-
 τον δεῖν ἔξεῖναι κατὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τινὸς ψῆφον
 ἀναδιδόναι τοῖς ὄχλοις, ὥστε μηδὲ κατὰ τῶν ἀλλων
 πατρικίων τοῦ φαυλοτάτου⁴ ταύτην ἀποδεδόσθαι
 τὴν ἔξουσίαν, ἀν μὴ ἡ⁵ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται. ἡ πείλουν
 τε, ὅταν ἐκεῖνοι ψῆφον ἀναδῶσι τοῖς δημόταις,
 5 αὐτοὶ τὰ ὅπλα περιθήσειν τοῖς πατρικίοις. τοιού-

¹ αὐτῶν Ba : ἔαντῶν Bb, αὐτοῦ A.

² ἀπὸ τῆς A.

³ τῆς R : τῆς τε B, τῆς γε Kiessling.

⁴ τοῦ φαυλοτάτου B : τῷ φαυλοτέρῳ A, τῶν φαυλοτέρων R.

⁵ ἡ Bb : om. ABA.

the tribunes themselves to be treated in a most outrageous manner or the populace to be deprived of their assistance. They enumerated all the injuries they had received at the hands of the consuls and their faction, who had insulted not only their authority but also their persons ; and they asked that the consuls do one of two things—either, in case they denied that they had done any wrong against the persons of the tribunes contrary to the laws, that they go before the popular assembly and make their denial under oath, or, if they could not bring themselves to take that oath, that they appear before the plebeians to render an account of their conduct ; and they (the tribunes) would take the vote of the tribes concerning them. The consuls defended themselves against these charges by saying that the tribunes had begun the violence by their arrogant behaviour and by daring to commit lawless acts against the persons of the consuls, first by ordering their attendants and the aediles to hale to prison magistrates in whom the whole power of the commonwealth is vested, and later by entering the struggle themselves together with the boldest of the plebeians. They pointed out how great a difference there is between the two magistracies—between the consulship, in which the royal power resides, and the tribuneship, which was introduced for the relief of the oppressed and, far from having the right to take the vote of the masses against one of the consuls, has not been given authority to do so against even the meanest of the other patricians, unless the senate shall so vote. And they threatened that they themselves would arm the patricians when the tribunes should take the votes of the plebeians. After such recrimina-

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

των δὴ ρήθέντων λόγων δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας οὐδὲν ἔξήνεγκεν ἡ βουλὴ τέλος, ἵνα μήτε τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχὴν μειώσειε μήτε τὴν τῶν δημάρχων, ἐκάτερον ὄρῶσα μεγάλων κινδύνων αἴτιον ἐσόμενον.

XXXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κάκεῖθεν ἀπηλάθησαν οἱ δῆμαρχοι βοήθειαν οὐδεμίαν εὑρόμενοι, ἐσκόπουν αὐθις ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῦν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀφικόμενοι. ἐνίοις μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ταραχωδεστάτοις ἀπιέναι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς δημοτικὸν τὰ ὅπλα ἀναλαμβάνοντας εἰς τὸ ιερὸν ὄρος, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμωμένους ποιεῦν πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους, ἐπειδὴ τὰς συνθήκας ἔλυσαν ἐκεῦνοι τὰς γενομένας αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, καταλύοντες τὴν ² δημαρχικὴν ἔξουσίαν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ. τοῖς δὲ πλείοσιν ἐδόκει μὴ παραχωρεῖν τῆς πόλεως μηδὲ κοινὰ πάντων¹ ἐγκλήματα ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἴδια τινὲς εἰς τοὺς δημάρχους παρενόμησαν, ἐὰν² τὰ συγκεχωρημένα τοῖς νόμοις³ λαμβάνωσιν,⁴ οἱ κελεύοντοι νηποινὶ τεθνάναι⁵ τοὺς ὑβρίσαντας τὰ⁶ τῶν δημάρχων σώματα. τοῖς δὲ χαριεστέροις οὐδέτερον τούτων ἐφαίνετο καλῶς ἔχειν, οὕτε τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν οὕτε φόνον ἄκριτον ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπάτων, οἷς ἡ μεγίστη ὑπέκειτο ἀρχή, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς συναγωνιζομένους αὐτοῖς μεταφέρειν τὴν ὄργην καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας παρ' ἐκείνων λαμβάνειν. ³ εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν θυμῷ φερόμενοι δρᾶσαι τι οἱ δῆμαρχοι κατὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἢ τῆς

¹ μηδὲ κοινὰ πάντων Reiske : μηδὲ τὰ κοινὰ πάντων A, μηδὲ κοινὰ πάντα τὰ B. ² ἐὰν Bb : ἀλλὰ R.

³ τοῖς νόμοις Bb : om. ABA.

⁴ λαμβάνωσιν B : λαμβάνουσιν R.

tions had lasted the whole day, the senate came to no decision, being unwilling to lessen the power of either the consuls or the tribunes, since they saw that either course would be attended with great dangers.

XXXV. When the tribunes were repulsed there also, failing to get any help, they went again to the popular assembly and considered what they ought to do. Some, particularly the most turbulent, thought the plebeians should take arms and again withdraw from the city to the Sacred Mount, where they had encamped on the first occasion,¹ and from there make war upon the patricians, since these had violated the compact they had made with the populace by openly overthrowing the tribunician power.² But the majority thought they ought not to leave the city nor to bring charges against all the patricians as a body for the lawless acts committed by some particular persons against the tribunes, provided they could obtain the relief offered by the laws, which ordain that those who have insulted the persons of the tribunes may be put to death with impunity.³ The more intelligent did not regard either course as fitting, either to leave the city or to put persons to death without a trial, and particularly consuls, who held the chief magistracy, but they advised them to transfer their resentment to those who were assisting the consuls and to exact from these the punishment ordained by the laws. Now if the tribunes had been carried away by their passion that day to do anything

¹ vi. 45, 2.

² vi. 87, 3; 88, 3.

³ vi. 89, 3.

⁵ κελεύοντι νηποιοὶ τεθνάναι Casaubon : κελεύοντων ἡ ποιεῦν
ἡ τεθνάναι Ο, κελεύοντων ἡ ποιεῦν τίνειν ἡ τεθνάναι Jacoby.

⁶ τὰ Ο : εἰς τὰ Cobet.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

βουλῆς προήχθησαν, οὐθὲν ἂν ἦν τὸ κωλῦσον αὐτὴν
 ὑφ' αὐτῆς ἀπολωλέναι τὴν πόλιν· οὕτως ἔτοιμοι
 πάντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὸν κατ' ἀλλήλων
 πόλεμον. νῦν δ' ἀναβαλόμενοι τὰ πράγματα καὶ
 δόντες ἑαυτοῖς χρόνον εἰς ἀμείνω λογισμὸν αὐτοὶ
 τε μετριώτεροι ἐγένοντο καὶ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὄρ-
 4 γὰς ἐπράυναν. ἔπειτα ταῖς ἔξῆς ἡμέραις τὴν τρίτην
 ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἐσομένην ἀγορὰν προειπόντες ἐν ᾧ
 τὸν δῆμον συνάξουσι καὶ ζημίαν ἐπιβαλοῦσι τοῖς
 ὑπάτοις ἀργυρικήν, διέλυσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἔπει
 δὲ πλησίον ἦν ὁ χρόνος, ἀπέστησαν καὶ ταύτης τῆς
 ἐπιβολῆς τῇ δεήσει τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τε¹ καὶ ἐντι-
 5 μοτάτων τὴν χάριν ἀνατιθέναι λέγοντες. καὶ μετὰ
 ταῦτα συναγαγόντες τὸν δῆμον ἔλεγον ὅτι τὰς μὲν
 εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ὕβρεις ἀφείκασι χαρισάμενοι πολλοῖς
 καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι δεομένοις, οἷς οὐκ ἦν ὅσιον
 ἀντιλέγειν, ὥν δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἡδικεῖτο κωλυταί τε καὶ
 τιμωροὶ ἔσεσθαι. προθήσειν γὰρ αὐθις τόν τε περὶ
 τῆς κληρουχίας νόμον ἔτη τριάκοντα παρειλκυσ-
 μένον καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς ἰσονομίας, ὃν οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν
 δήμαρχοι προθέντες οὐκ ἐπεψήφισαν.

XXXVI. Ταῦθ' ὑποσχόμενοι καὶ ὄμόσαντες ἀπ-
 ἔδειξαν ἡμέρας ἐν αἷς ἀγορὰν ποιήσονται τοῦ δήμου
 καὶ τὰς ψήφους ἀναδώσουσι περὶ τῶν νόμων· ἐπι-
 στάντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου πρῶτον εἰσέφερον τὸν
 χωρονομικὸν νόμον καὶ πολλοὺς διελθόντες λόγους
 ἐκάλουν, εἴ τις τῷ νόμῳ συναγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν
 2 δημοτικῶν. πολλῶν δὲ παριόντων καὶ τὰς ἑαυ-

¹ τε B : om. R.

¹ Or, perhaps, "second" by our reckoning. See vii. 58, 3 and the note on that passage. Normally in such a construction as this Dionysius reckons inclusively.

BOOK X. 35, 3—36, 2

against the consuls or the senate, nothing would have prevented the commonwealth from being destroyed by its own hands, so ready were all to rush to arms and engage in civil war. But as it was, by deferring matters and giving themselves time for better reasoning, they not only themselves grew more moderate, but also appeased the resentment of the multitude. Then, during the following days, they announced the third¹ market-day from that one as the day when they would assemble the populace and impose a monetary fine upon the consuls ; after which they dismissed the assembly. But when the time drew near, they refrained from imposing even this fine, alleging that they granted the favour at the intercession of men who were the oldest and most honoured. After that they assembled the populace and told them that they had pardoned the insults to themselves, doing this at the request of many worthy men whom it was not right to refuse, but that as for the wrongs done to the populace, they would both avenge them and prevent their recurrence. For they would again propose not only the law concerning the allotment of land, the enactment of which had been postponed for thirty years, but also the one concerning an equality of laws, which their predecessors had proposed but had not put to vote.

XXXVI. Having made these promises and confirmed them by oaths, they appointed days on which they would hold an assembly of the populace and take their votes concerning the laws. When the time came, they first proposed the agrarian law, and after discussing it at great length, called upon any of the plebeians who so desired to speak in favour of the law. Many came forward, and enumerating the

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τῶν πράξεις, ἃς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀπεδείξαντο, προφερομένων καὶ ἀγανακτούντων ὅτι πολλὴν ἀφελόμενοι γῆν τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδεμίαν εἰλήφασι μοῖραν, τοὺς δὲ χρήμασι καὶ φίλοις δυνατοὺς ἐσφετερισμένους ὁρῶσι τὰ κοινὰ καὶ καρπουμένους ἐκ τοῦ βιαιοτάτου, ἀξιούντων τε μὴ μόνον τοὺς κινδύνους εἶναι τῷ δῆμῳ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν κοινούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἥδονάς τε καὶ ὡφελείας, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἀσμένως ἀκούοντος τοὺς λόγους, ὁ μάλιστα ἐπιρρώσας τὸν δῆμον καὶ μηδὲ φωνὴν ὑπομένειν τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων διαπραξάμενος ἦν Λεύκιος Σίκκιος, Δευτάτος ἐπικαλούμενος, πολλὰς πάνυ καὶ μεγάλας ἔαυτοῦ 3 πράξεις διεξελθών. ἦν δ' ὁφθῆναι τε θαυμαστὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ δυεῦν δέοντα ἔξήκοντα γεγοιώσης ἔτη καὶ φρονήσαι τὰ δέοντα ἴκανὸς εἰπεῖν τε ὡς στρατιώτης οὐκ ἀδύνατος. ἔφη δ' οὖν παρελθών.

“Ἐγὼ δ’,¹ ὡς δημόται, καθ’ ἕκαστον ἔργον τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων εἰ βουλούμην λέγειν, ἐπιλέποι ἄν με ὁ τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνος. αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ κεφάλαια δι’ 4 ἐλαχίστων ὡς ἐμὴ δύναμις ἔρω. τετταρακοστὸν μὲν² ἔτος ἐστὶ μοι τοῦτο ἐξ οὐ στρατεύομαι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, τριακοστὸν δ’ ἐξ οὐ στρατιωτικῆς ἀεὶ τινος ἡγεμονίας τυγχάνω, τοτὲ μὲν σπείρας ἡγούμενος, τοτὲ δ’ ὅλου τάγματος, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ὑπάτων³ Γαῖου Ἀκυλλίου καὶ Τίτου Σικκίου, οἷς

¹ ἐγὼ δὲ ABmg : ἐγώ Steph., Jacoby, ἐγωγε Post.

² μὲν B : om. R.

³ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων Jacoby.

exploits they had performed in the wars, expressed their indignation that they who had taken so much land from their enemies had received no part of it themselves, while they saw that those who were powerful by reason of their riches and their friends had appropriated and now enjoyed, by the most violent means, the possessions that belonged to all ; and they demanded that the populace should share, not only in the dangers that were undertaken for the common good, but also in the pleasures and profits that resulted from those dangers. And the multitude listened to them with pleasure. But the one who encouraged them the most and caused them to refuse to tolerate even a word from the opponents of the law was Lucius Siccius, surnamed Dentatus, who related very many great exploits of his own. He was a man of remarkable appearance, was in the very prime of life, being fifty-eight years old, capable of conceiving practical measures and also, for a soldier, eloquent in expressing them. This man, then, came forward and said :

“ If I, plebeians, should choose to relate my exploits one by one, a day’s time would not suffice me ; hence I shall give a mere summary, in the fewest words I can. This is the fortieth year that I have been making campaigns for my country, and the thirtieth that I have continued to hold some military command, sometimes over a cohort and sometimes over a whole legion, beginning with the consulship of Gaius Aquilius and Titus Siccius,¹ to whom the senate committed

¹ Strictly speaking, it was the second of these consuls only who conducted the war against the Volscians (see viii. 64, 3; 67), and according to Dionysius’ own chronology the date of the present speech (453 b.c.) was a little more than the thirtieth year after their consulship (485).

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

έψηφίσατο ἡ βουλὴ τὸν κατὰ Οὐδούσκων πόλεμον.
 5 ήμην γὰρ τότε ἐπτακαιεικοσέτης,¹ ἐταττόμην δ'
 ἔτι ύπὸ λοχαγῶ. γενομένης δὲ μάχης καρτερᾶς
 καὶ τροπῆς, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἥγεμόνος τῆς σπείρας πε-
 πτωκότος, τῶν δὲ σημείων κρατουμένων ύπὸ τῶν
 ἔχθρῶν, μόνος ἐγὼ τὸν ύπὲρ ἀπάντων κίνδυνον
 ἀράμενος τά τε σημεῖα διέσωσα τῇ σπείρᾳ² καὶ
 τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνέστειλα καὶ τοῦ μὴ περιπεσεῖν
 αἰσχύνῃ³ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς αἰωνίω, δι’ ἣν θανάτου
 κακίων ὁ λοιπὸς ἄν αὐτοῖς βίος ἦν, αἴτιος ἐγενόμην
 φανερῶς, ὡς αὐτοί τε⁴ ὡμολόγουν χρυσῷ με ἀνα-
 δήσαντες στεφάνῳ καὶ ὁ υπατος Σίκκιος ἐμαρτύ-
 6 ρησεν ἥγεμόνα τῆς σπείρας ἀποδείξας. ἐτέρου τε
 πάλιν ἡμῖν ἀγῶνος ἐνστάντος, ἐν ᾧ τόν τε στρατο-
 πεδάρχην τοῦ τάγματος ἡμῶν συνέβη πεσεῖν καὶ
 τὸν ἀετὸν ύπὸ⁵ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι, τὸν αὐτὸν
 τρόπον ύπὲρ ὅλου τοῦ τάγματος⁶ ἀγωνισάμενος τὸν
 τ’ ἀετὸν ἀνεκομισάμην⁷ καὶ τὸν στρατοπεδάρχην
 ἔσωσα· ὃς ἐμοὶ τῆς τότε βοηθείας χάριν ἀπο-
 διδοὺς τῆς ἥγεμονίας τοῦ τάγματος ἀφίστατο μοι
 καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν ἐδίδου, ἐγὼ δ’ οὐκ ἔλαβον, οὐκ ἀξιῶν
 ὥ τὸν βίον ἔχαρισάμην τούτου παρελέσθαι τὰς τιμὰς
 ἃς εἶχε καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταύταις εὐφροσύνας. ἐφ’ οὓς
 ἀγασθείς με ὁ υπατος τοῦ πρώτου τάγματος ἀπ-
 ἐδωκε τὴν στρατοπεδαρχίαν ἀπολωλεκότος ἐν τῇ
 μάχῃ τὸν ἥγεμόνα.

XXXVII. “Ταῦτ’ ἔστιν, ὡ δημόται, τὰ φανερώ-

¹ Kiessling : ἐπτακαιεικοσαέτης O.

² τῇ σπείρᾳ B : τῆς σπείρας R.

³ ἐν before αἰσχύνῃ deleted by Reiske.

⁴ τε Kiessling : γε B, om. R.

⁵ ἐπὶ Cobet.

⁶ Reiske : συντάγματος O.

⁷ ἀνεκομισάμην B : ἀνεσωσάμην R.

the conduct of the war against the Volscians. I was then twenty-seven years of age and in rank I was still under a centurion.¹ When a severe battle occurred and a rout, the commander of the cohort had fallen, and the standards were in the hands of the enemy, I alone, exposing myself in behalf of all, recovered the standards for the cohort, repulsed the enemy, and was clearly the one who saved the centurions from incurring everlasting disgrace—which would have rendered the rest of their lives more bitter than death—as both they themselves acknowledged, by crowning me with a golden crown, and Siccius the consul bore witness, by appointing me commander of the cohort. And in another battle that we had, in which it happened that the *primipilus*² of the legion was thrown to the ground and the eagle fell into the enemy's hands, I fought in the same manner in defence of the whole legion, recovered the eagle and saved the *primipilus*. In return for the assistance I then gave him he wished to resign his command of the legion in my favour and to give me the eagle; but I refused both, being unwilling to deprive the man whose life I had saved of the honours he enjoyed and of the satisfaction resulting from them. The consul was pleased with my behaviour and gave me the post of *primipilus* in the first legion, which had lost its commander in the battle.

XXXVII. “These, plebeians, are the noble actions

¹ i.e. he was still a common soldier.

² The ranking centurion of a legion, who carried the eagle and, in the absence of the tribune, took command. See ix. 10, 2.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

σαντά με καὶ εἰς ἡγεμονίας προαγαγόντα γενναῖα
 ἔργα. ἐπεὶ δ' ὄνόματος ἥδη λαμπροῦ τυγχάνων
 φανερὸς ἡμην, ἅπαντας ὑπέμενον τοὺς λοιποὺς
 ἀγῶνας αἰδούμενος τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἔργοις
 τιμᾶς καὶ χάριτας ἀφανίσαι. καὶ διετέλεσα πάντα
 τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον στρατευόμενος καὶ ταλαιπωρῶν
 καὶ οὐδένα κίνδυνον δεδιώς οὐδὲ ὑπολογιζόμενος.
 ἔξ ὧν ἀπάντων ἀριστεῖα καὶ σκῦλα καὶ στεφάνους
 2 καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τιμᾶς παρὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἔλαβον· ἵνα
 δὲ συνελὼν εἴπω, μάχας μὲν ἐν τοῖς τετταράκοντα
 ἔτεσιν ἐν οἷς διατελῶ στρατευόμενος ἀμφὶ τὰς
 ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι μεμάχημαι, τραύματα δὲ πέντε καὶ
 τετταράκοντα εἴληφα καὶ πάντα ἐμπρόσθια, κατὰ
 νώτου δ' οὐθέν· καὶ τούτων δώδεκά ἔστιν ἣ συνέβη
 μοι λαβεῖν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ, ὅτε Σαβῖνος Ἐρδώνιος
 3 τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατελάβετο. ἀριστεῖα
 δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἔξενήνεγμαι τεσσαρεσκαΐδεκα
 μὲν στεφάνους πολιτικούς, οἷς ἀνέδησάν με οἱ
 σωθέντες ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, τρεῖς δὲ πολι-
 ορκητικούς πρῶτος ἐπιβὰς πολεμίων τείχεσι καὶ
 κατασχών, ὁκτὼ δὲ τοὺς ἐκ παρατάξεως, οἷς ὑπὸ
 τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἐτιμήθην· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὄγ-
 δοήκοντα μὲν καὶ τρεῖς χρυσοῦς στρεπτοὺς περιαν-
 χεινίους, ἔξήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν¹ περιβραχιόνια
 χρύσεα, δόρατα δ' ὁκτωκαΐδεκα, φάλαρα δ' ἐπίσημα
 πέντε πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν, . . .² ὧν ἐννέα ἦσαν οὓς
 μονομαχῆσαι τινα ἡμῶν προκαλεσαμένους ἕκούσιος
 4 ὑποστὰς ἐνίκησα. οὗτος μέντοι Σίκκιος, ὃ πολῖται,

¹ καὶ ἑκατὸν B : om. R.

² Lacuna recognized after εἴκοσιν by Enthoven, who supplied: λάφυρα δὲ πολεμίων ἡττηθέντων εἴκοσιν (cf. chap. 45, 3).

which brought me distinction and preferment. After I had already gained an illustrious name and was famous, I submitted to the hardships of all the other engagements, being ashamed to blot out the memory of the honours and favours I had received for my former actions. And all the time since then I have continued to take part in campaigns and undergo their hardships without fearing or even considering any danger. From all these campaigns I received prizes for valour, spoils, crowns, and the other honours from the consuls. In a word, during the forty years I have continued to serve I have fought about one hundred and twenty battles and received forty-five wounds, all in front and not one behind ; twelve of these I happened to receive in one day, when Herdonius the Sabine seized the citadel and the Capitol. As to rewards for valour, I have brought out of those contests fourteen civic crowns, bestowed upon me by those I saved in battle, three mural crowns for having been the first to mount the enemy's walls and hold them, and eight others for my exploits on the battle-field, with which I was honoured by the generals ; and, in addition to these, eighty-three gold collars, one hundred and sixty gold bracelets, eighteen spears, twenty-five splendid decorations, . . .¹ nine of whom I voluntarily encountered and overcame when they challenged someone of our men to fight in single combat. Nevertheless, citizens, this Siccius,

¹ The next clause shows that there is something amiss with the text here. When we compare the words in chap. 45, 3, where Romilius tauntingly reminds Siccius of all these boasted trophies, we naturally look for mention here of the spoils taken from enemy champions slain in single combat. Enthoven, accordingly, would supply at this point the words "and the spoils of twenty conquered enemies."

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ό τοσαῦτα μὲν ἔτη στρατευσάμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν,
 τοσαύτας δὲ μάχας ἀγωνισάμενος, τοσούτοις δὲ
 τετιμημένος ἀριστείοις, ὁ μηδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας
 πώποτε μηδ' ἀπειπάμενος, ἀλλ' . . .¹ ἐν παρα-
 τάξει καὶ ἐν τειχομαχίαις καὶ ἐν πεζοῖς καὶ ἐν
 ἵππεῦσι καὶ μετὰ πάντων καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ μόνος,
 καὶ κατατετρωμένος ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, ὁ συγκατακτη-
 σάμενος τῇ πατρίδι πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν γῆν, τοῦτο
 μὲν ἦν Τυρρηνούς τε καὶ Σαβίνους ἀφείλεσθε, τοῦτο
 δὲ ἦν Αἰκανῶν καὶ Οὐδολούσκων καὶ Πωμεντίνων
 κρατήσαντες ἔχετε,² οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἔχω μοῖραν
 ἐξ αὐτῆς λαβών, οὐδ' ὑμῶν, ὃ δημόται, τῶν τὰ
 ὅμοια ταλαιπωρησάντων οὐδείς· οἱ δὲ βιαιότατοι
 τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀναιδέστατοι τὴν καλλίστην
 κατέχουσιν ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ πολλὰ ἔτη κεκάρπωνται
 οὕτε δωρεὰν παρ' ὑμῶν λαβόντες οὕτε χρημάτων
 πριάμενοι οὕτε ἄλλην δικαίαν κτῆσιν οὐδεμίαν αὐ-
 5 τῆς ἀποδεῖξαι δυνάμενοι. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἵσα τοῖς ἄλ-
 λοις ἡμῖν ταλαιπωρήσαντες ὅτ' αὐτὴν ἐκτώμεθα
 πλείουν ἡξίουν ἡμῶν ἔχειν, ἦν μὲν οὐδ' οὕτω δίκαιον
 οὐδὲ πολιτικὸν ὀλίγους σφετερίσασθαι τὰ κοινά, οὐ
 μὴν ἀλλ' εἰχέ γέ τινα λόγον ἡ πλεονεξία τῶν ἀν-
 θρώπων· ὅπότε δ' οὐθὲν ἔχοντες ἐπιδείξασθαι μέγα
 καὶ νεανικὸν ἔργον ἀνθ' οὗ τὰ ἡμέτερα³ βίᾳ κατ-
 ἔσχον, ἀναισχυντοῦσι καὶ οὐδ' ἐξελεγχόμενοι μεθ-
 ἴενται αὐτῶν, τίς ἀν ἀνάσχοιτο;

¹ Lacuna recognized by Reiske. The MSS. give ἀλλ' ἦν ἐν παρατάξει. Kiessling proposed: ἀλλὰ πάντας ὑποστὰς καὶ ἐν π., Smit ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀράμενος καὶ ἐν π. Jacoby simply substituted ἀλλῃ for ἀλλ' ἦν. Post would read μάχην for ἀλλ' ἦν.

² ἔχετε R : ἔσχετε A.

³ Steph. : ὑμέτερα AB.

who has served so many years in your defence, fought so many battles, been honoured with so many prizes for valour, who never shirked or declined any danger, but . . .¹ in pitched battles and assaults upon walled towns, among the foot and among the horse, with all, with a few, and alone, whose body is covered with wounds, and who has had a share in winning for his country much fertile land, both that which you have taken from the Tyrrhenians and the Sabines and that which you possess after conquering the Aequians, the Volscians and the Pometini—this Siccius, I say, has not received even the least portion of this land as his to possess, nor has any one of you plebeians who have shared in the same hardships. But the most violent and shameless men of the city hold the finest part of it and have had the enjoyment of it for many years, without having either received it from you as a gift or purchased it or being able to show any other just title to it. If, indeed, they had borne an equal share of the hardships with the rest of us when we were acquiring this land and had then demanded to have a larger share of it than we, while it would not, even so, have been either just or democratic that a few should appropriate what belongs to all in common, yet there would at least be some excuse for the greed of these men ; but when, though they cannot point to any great or daring deed of theirs in payment for which they seized by force the possessions that belong to us, they act in this shameless manner and even when convicted do not give them up, who can bear it ?

¹ The text is corrupt at this point. According to the conjectures of Kiessling and Smit we should have “but undertook them all, both in pitched battles,” etc.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

XXXVIII. “Ἐπεὶ φέρε πρὸς Διός, εἴ τι τούτων ἔγώ ψεύδομαι, δειξάτω τις ὑμῖν τῶν σεμνῶν τούτων παρελθών, τίνας ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ καλὰς πράξεις προ-
 ξόμενος ἐμοῦ πλέον ἔχειν ἀξιοῖ· πότερον ἔτη πλείω στρατευσάμενος ἢ μάχας πλείους ἀγωνισάμενος ἢ τραύματα πλείω λαβὼν ἢ στεφάνοις καὶ φαλάροις καὶ σκύλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπινικίοις κόσμοις ὑπερβαλόμενος, δι’ ὃν ἀσθενέστεροι μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι γεγόνασιν ἐπιφανεστέρα δὲ καὶ μείζων ἡ πατρίς; μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ δέκατον ἐπιδειξάτω μέρος ὃν ὑμῖν
 2 ὑπέδειξα ἔγώ. ἀλλὰ τούτων γ’ οἱ πλείους οὐδ’ ἂν πολλοστὴν ἔχοιεν προενέγκασθαι μοῖραν τῶν ἐμῶν· ἔνιοι δὲ οὐδ’ ἂν τῷ φαυλοτάτῳ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου φανεῖεν τὰ ἵσα κακοπαθήσαντες. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἡ λαμπρότης, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, οὐδὲ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὸ δυνάμενον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν φίλων· οὐδ’ ἥγοῦνται κοινὴν οἰκεῖν πόλιν, σφῶν δ’ αὐτῶν ἴδιαν, ὥσπερ οὐ συνελευθερωθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ὑφ’ ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κληρονομίαν παρὰ τῶν τυράννων παραλαβόντες ἡμᾶς· οἵ γε—τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὅσα ὑβρίζοντες ἡμᾶς μικρὰ καὶ μείζω διατελοῦσιν, ὡς ἄπαντες ἐπίστασθε, σιωπῶ
 3—ἀλλ’ εἰς τοῦτο προεληλύθασιν¹ ὑπερηφανίας ὥστ’ οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἀξιοῦσί τινα ἡμῶν ἀφιέναι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθέραν οὐδὲ διάραι τὸ στόμα, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον² εἰπόντα περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας Σπόριον Κάσσιον, τρισὶ μὲν ὑπατείαις κεκοσμημένον, δυσὶ δὲ θριάμβοις λαμπροτάτοις, τοσαύτην δὲ δεινότητα περὶ τε τὰς στρατηγικὰς πράξεις καὶ περὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ βουλεύματα ἀποδειξάμενον ὅσην

¹ προεληλύθασιν Bb : προσεληλύθασιν Ba, παρεληλύθασιν Λ.

² πρῶτον Steph. : om. AB, Jacoby.

XXXVIII. "Come now, if aught of what I have said is false, in Heaven's name let one of these grand men come forward and show what illustrious and noble achievements he relies on to claim a larger share of the land than I. Has he served more years, fought more battles, received more wounds, or excelled me in the number of crowns, decorations, spoils, and the other ornaments of victory—in fact, shown himself a man by whom our enemies have been weakened and our country rendered more illustrious and powerful? Nay, let him show the tenth part of what I have cited to you. But of these men the majority could not produce even the smallest fraction of my exploits; and some would be found not to have undergone as many hardships as even the meanest plebeian. For their brilliancy does not lie in arms, but in words, nor is their power exerted against their enemies, but against their friends; and they do not regard the commonwealth in which they dwell as belonging to all alike, but as their own private property—as if they had not been aided by us in gaining their freedom from tyranny, but had received us as an inheritance from the tyrants. I say nothing of the other insults, small and great, which they continue to heap upon us, as you all know; but they have gone so far in their arrogance that they forbid any one of us even to utter a free word in behalf of our country or even to open our mouths. Nay, they accused Spurius Cassius, who first proposed the allotment of land, a man who had been honoured with three consulships and two most brilliant triumphs and had shown greater ability in both military undertakings and political counsels than anyone of that age

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

οὐδεὶς τῶν τότε γενομένων, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα αἰτιασάμενοι τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ ψευδέσι καταγωνισάμενοι μαρτυρίας δι' οὐδὲν ἔτερον, ἀλλ' ὅτι φιλόπολις ἦν καὶ φιλόδημος, ὥσαντες ἀπὸ¹ τοῦ 1 κρημνοῦ διέφθειραν. Γναῖον δὲ Γενύκιον δῆμαρχον ὅντα ἡμέτερον, ἐπεὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πολίτευμα μετὰ ἔτος² ἐνδέκατον ἀνενεοῦτο, καὶ τὸν ὑπατεύσαντας ἐν τῷ πρότερον ἐνιαυτῷ κατέστησεν ὑπὸ δίκην ἀμελήσαντας τῶν ψηφισμάτων τῆς βουλῆς ἢ περὶ τῶν γεωμόρων ἐψηφίσατο, ἐπεὶ φανερῶς οὐχ οἷοί τ' ἦσαν ἀνελεῖν, μιᾶ πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δίκης 5 ἀφανῶς ἀνήρπασαν. τοιγάρτοι πολὺς ἐνέπεσε τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα φόβος, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι τὸ κινδύνευμα τοῦτο ὑπέδυ, ἀλλὰ τριακοστὸν ἔτος τοῦτο ἀνεχόμεθα ὥσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι τὴν ἔξουσίαν ἀπολωλεκότες.

XXXIX. “’Εῶ τἀλλα· ἀλλ' οἱ νῦν ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, ὅτι τοῖς κατισχυομένοις τῶν δημοτικῶν ἡξίουν βοηθεῖν, οὓς ὑμεῖς Ἱεροὺς καὶ ἀσύλους ἐποιήσατε τῷ νόμῳ, τί οὐ πεπόνθασι τῶν δεινῶν; οὐχὶ τυπτόμενοι καὶ λακτιζόμενοι καὶ πᾶσαν αἰκίαν ὑπομείναντες ἀπηλάθησαν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς; καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πάσχοντες ἀνέχεσθε καὶ οὐ ζητεῖτε ὅπως παρ' αὐτῶν λήψεσθε δίκας ταῖς γοῦν ψήφοις, ἐν αἷς μόναις ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ἀποδείξασθαι τὴν 2 ἐλευθερίαν;³ ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ὡ δημόται, φρόνημα λαβόντες ἐλεύθερον καὶ⁴ τὸν γεωμορικὸν νόμον

¹ ἀπὸ Ο : κατὰ Naber.

² ἔτος Ο : τὸ ἔτος Jacoby.

³ The (;) is due to Capps. Editors have all treated this as a declarative sentence.

⁴ καὶ deleted by Kiessling, Jacoby. Kiessling proposed as an alternative λάβετε ἐλεύθερον καὶ.

—this man, I say, they accused of aiming at tyranny and defeated him by means of false testimony, for no other reason than because he was a lover of his country and a lover of the people, and they destroyed him by shoving him over the cliff.¹ And again, when Gnaeus Genucius, one of our tribunes, revived this same measure after the lapse of eleven years² and summoned the consuls of the preceding year to trial for having neglected to carry out the decree which the senate had passed respecting the appointment of the commissioners to divide the land, since they could not destroy him openly, they made away with him secretly the day before the trial. In consequence, great fear came upon the succeeding tribunes, and not one of them would thereafter expose himself to this danger, but for now the thirtieth year we endure this treatment, as if we had lost our power under a tyranny.

XXXIX. “The other things I pass over ; but your present magistrates, because they thought it their duty to help those of the plebeians who were oppressed, though by law you had made these magistrates sacred and inviolable, what dreadful treatment have they not suffered ? Were they not driven out of the Forum with blows, kicks and every form of outrage ? And you, do you endure to suffer such treatment and not seek means of taking revenge on the perpetrators, at least by your votes, in which alone you can show your freedom ? But even now, plebeians, pluck up the courage of free men and, now that the

¹ The Tarpeian Rock.

² The interval was twelve years (483–471) according to Dionysius' own account. See viii. 77 and ix. 37 f.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

εἰσφερόντων τῶν δημάρχων ἐπικυρώσατε μηδὲ φω-
 3 νὴν ἀνασχόμενοι τῶν τάναντία ἀξιούντων. ὑμεῖς
 δ', ὡ δήμαρχοι, παρακλήσεως μὲν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ
 ἔργον οὐ δεῖσθε· καὶ γὰρ ἥρξατε αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐχ
 ὑποκατακλίνεσθε, καλῶς ποιοῦντες· ἐὰν δ' ἐκ τῶν
 νέων αὐθάδεια καὶ ἀναίδεια ὑμῖν ἐμποδὼν γένηται
 τοὺς καδίσκους ἀνατρεπόντων ἢ τὰς ψήφους ἀρ-
 παζόντων ἢ ἄλλο τι περὶ τὴν ψηφοφορίαν ἀκοσ-
 μούντων, δείξατε αὐτοῖς ἦν ἔχει τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἵσχυν.
 4 καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔξεστι παῦσαι τῆς ἐξ-
 ουσίας, τοὺς ἴδιώτας οὓς πρὸς τὰ βίαια ὑπηρέταις
 ἐκεῖνοι χρῶνται καταστήσαντες ὑπὸ δίκην, ἀνάδοτε
 τῷ δήμῳ τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν ψήφους, αἵτιασάμενοι
 παρὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους βιάζεσθαι καὶ καταλύειν
 ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρχήν.”

XL. Τοιαῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος οὕ-
 τως οὐκείως διετέθη πρὸς τοὺς λόγους καὶ τοσαύ-
 την ἀπεδείξατο ἀγανάκτησιν πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον,
 ὥσθ', ὅπερ ἔφην καὶ κατ' ἀρχάς, μηδὲ λόγον ἔτι
 2 βιούλεσθαι τῶν ἀντιλεξόντων ὑπομένειν. ὁ μέντοι
 δήμαρχος Ἰκίλλιος ἀναστὰς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔφη πάν-
 τα ὄρθως εἰπεῖν Σίκκιον καὶ μακρὸν ἔπαινον τοῦ
 ἀνδρὸς διεξῆλθε· τὸ δὲ μὴ μεταδιδόναι λόγον τοῖς
 ἀντιλέξαι βουλομένοις οὔτε δίκαιον ἀπέφαινεν οὔτε
 πολιτικόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ νόμου τῆς ζητήσεως
 γινομένης ὃς ἐμελλε κρείττονα ποιήσειν τὴν δίκην
 τῆς βίας. ταύτη γὰρ ἀφορμῇ χρήσεσθαι¹ τοὺς
 μηδὲν ἵσως καὶ δικαίως² τοῖς πολλοῖς φρονοῦντας
 τοῦ ταράττειν πάλιν καὶ διιστάναι τὰ συμφέροντα
 3 τῆς πόλεως. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀπο-

¹ Hudson : χρήσασθαι AB.

² ἵσον καὶ δίκαιον Cobet.

tribunes propose it, ratify the agrarian law, not tolerating even a word from those of the opposite opinion. As for you, tribunes, you need no exhortation to this task, since you began it and in not yielding do well. And if the self-willed and shameless young men obstruct you by overturning the voting-urns, snatching away the ballots or committing any other disorders in connexion with the voting, show them what power your college possesses. And since you cannot depose the consuls from power, bring to trial the private persons whom they use as the agents of their violence and take the votes of the populace concerning them, after charging them with attempting to violate and overthrow your magistracy contrary to the sacred laws."

XL. When he had spoken to this effect, the plebeians were so won over by his words and showed so great indignation against their adversaries that, as I said at the outset, they were unwilling to tolerate even another word from those who were intending to speak against the law. Icilius the tribune, however, rose and said that everything else Siccius had said was excellent, and he praised the man at length; but as to not permitting those who wished to oppose the measure to speak, that, he declared, was neither just nor democratic, especially as the debate was about a law which would make justice superior to violence. For such an opportunity would be used by those who entertained no sentiments of equality and justice toward the masses to disturb them again and cause factious divisions about the interests of the commonwealth. Having spoken thus and assigned

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

δείξας ἡμέραν τοῖς κατηγόροις τοῦ νόμου διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ συναγαγόντες ἴδιωτικὸν συνέδριον πατρικίων τῶν ἀνδρειοτάτων τε καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ πόλει τότ’ ἀνθούντων ἐδίδασκον αὐτοὺς ὡς κωλυτέος εἴη σφίσιν ὁ νόμος, λόγοις μὲν πρῶτον, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πείθωσι τὸν δῆμον, ἔργοις. ἐκέλευσόν τε ἄπασιν ἥκειν ἔωθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἅμα τοῖς ἑταίροις τε καὶ πελάταις, ὅσοις ἂν ἔκαστοι 4 πλείστοις δύνωνται· ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ ἐκκλησιαστήριον ἔστωτας ὑπομένειν, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέρη συστρέψαντας ἑαυτοὺς διαστῆναι, ὥστε διειλῆφθαι τὸ δημοτικὸν διεσπασμένον καὶ κωλύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν εἰς ἐν συνελθεῖν. ἐδόκει ταῦτα κράτιστα εἶναι, καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν γενέσθαι τὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατείχετο ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων.

XLI. Μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ τε δήμαρχοι καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ παρῆσαν καὶ λέγειν ὁ κῆρυξ ἐκέλευσε τὸν βουλόμενον τοῦ νόμου κατηγορεῖν. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν παριόντων οὐθενὸς ἐξάκουστος ἦν ὁ λόγος ὑπὸ τοῦ θορύβου τε καὶ τῆς¹ ἀκοσμίας τῶν ἐκκλησιαζόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπεκέλευσόν τε καὶ ἐπεθάρρυνον τοὺς λέγοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐξέβαλλόν τε καὶ κατεβόων. ἐκράτει δὲ οὕτε ὁ τῶν συλλαμβανόντων ἔπαινος οὕτε ὁ τῶν ἀντιπραττόντων θόρυβος. 2 ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ μαρτυρομένων ὅτι τῆς βίας ὁ δῆμος ἄρχει λόγον οὐκ ἀξιῶν ὑπομένειν, ἀπελογοῦντο οἱ δήμαρχοι πρὸς ταῦτα ὅτι ἥδη πέμπτον ἔτος τῶν αὐτῶν ἀκούοντες λόγων² οὐθὲν ποιοῦσι θαυμαστὸν εἰ μὴ ἀξιοῦσιν ὑπομένειν ἐώλους

¹ τῆς Bb : om. R.

² τῶν αὐτῶν ἀ. λόγων AB : τὸν αὐτὸν ἀ. λόγον R.

the following day to the opponents of the law, he dismissed the assembly. The consuls, on their side, called a private meeting of those patricians who were the bravest and in the highest repute in the city at the time, and showed them that they must hinder the law from passing, first by their words, and if they could not persuade the populace, then by their deeds. They bade them all come early in the morning to the Forum with as many friends and clients as each of them could get together ; then some of them should take their stand round the tribunal itself and the comitium and remain there, while others, forming in groups, took up positions in many different parts of the Forum, in order to keep the plebeians divided and hinder them from uniting in one body. This seemed to be the best plan, and before it was broad daylight the greater part of the Forum was occupied by the patricians.

XLI. After that the tribunes and the consuls appeared and the herald bade anyone who so desired to speak against the law. But though many good men came forward, the words of none of them could be heard by reason of the tumult and disorderly behaviour of the assembly. For some cheered and encouraged the speakers, while others were for throwing them out or for shouting them down ; but neither the applause of the supporters nor the clamour of the opponents prevailed. When the consuls were incensed at this and protested that the populace had begun the violence by refusing to tolerate a word, the tribunes attempted to justify them by saying that, inasmuch as the plebeians kept hearing the same arguments for now the fifth year, they were doing nothing remarkable if they did not care to put

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

3 καὶ κατημαξευμένας ἀντιλογίας. ὡς δὲ τὸ πλεῖον τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ταῦτα ἐδαπανήθη καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπῆγτει τὰς ψήφους, οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἡγησάμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα οἱ νεώτατοι τῶν πατρικίων διύστασθαι τε βουλομένοις κατὰ φυλὰς τοῖς δημόταις ἐμποδὼν ἔγινοντο καὶ τὰ ἀγγεῖα τῶν ψήφων τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀφηροῦντο καὶ τῶν ὑπηρετούντων τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ταῦτα ἀφιέναι τύπτοντές τε καὶ ὠθοῦντες 4 ἔξέβαλλον. κεκραγότων δὲ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ εἰς μέσους αὐτοὺς ὠθουμένων ἐκείνοις μὲν ὑπεχώρουν καὶ παρεῖχον ὅποι βούλοιντο¹ χωρεῖν ἀδεῶς, τοῦ δ' ἄλλου δήμου τό τε ἐπόμενον² αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ κατ' ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα μέρη τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπὸ θορύβου καὶ ἀταξίας κινούμενον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς³ οὐ παρίεσαν,⁴ ὥστ' 5 ἀνωφελῆς ἦν ἡ τῶν ἀρχόντων βοήθεια. τέλος δ' οὖν ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ οὐκ εἴασαν ἐπικυρωθῆναι τὸν νόμον. οἱ δὲ προθυμότατα συλλαβέσθαι δόξαντες τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐκ τριῶν οἰκιῶν ἦσαν, Ποστόμιοι καὶ Σεμπρώνιοι καὶ τρίτοι Κλοίλιοι, γένους τε ἀξιώσει λαμπρότατοι καὶ ἔταιρίαις μεγάλα δυνάμενοι πλούτῳ τε καὶ δόξῃ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργοις ἐπιφανεῖς· καὶ τοῦ μὴ κυρωθῆναι τὸν νόμον οὗτοι ὡμολογοῦντο αἰτιώτατοι γενέσθαι.

XLII. Τῇ δ' ἔξῆς ἡμέρᾳ παραλαβόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐσκόπουν ὅ τι χρήσονται τοῖς πράγμασι, κοινὸν μὲν

¹ βούλοιντο R : βούλονται B.

² τό τε ἐπόμενον Sylburg, τὸ ἐπόμενον Jacoby : τότε ἐπομένου A, τοῦ ἐπομένου Bb, τοὺς ἐπομένους Kiessling.

³ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἄλλα . . . ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Sylburg, from his Codex Romanus : om. AB, Jacoby.

⁴ παρίεσαν Λ : παρεῖσαν (?) Ba, παρῆσαν Bb.

up with stale and trite objections. When most of the day had been spent in these contests and the populace insisted upon giving their votes, the youngest of the patricians, regarding the situation as no longer endurable, hindered the plebeians when they wished to divide themselves by tribes, took away the voting-urns from those who were in charge of them, and beating and pushing such of the attendants as would not part with them, sought to drive them from the comitium. But when the tribunes cried out and rushed into their midst, the youths made way for those magistrates and permitted them to go in safety wherever they wished, but of the rest of the populace they did not let pass either those who were in the tribunes' train or those who in various parts of the Forum were endeavouring amid the uproar and disorder to move toward them¹; hence the assistance of the tribunes was of no avail. In the end, at any rate, the patricians prevailed and would not permit the law to be ratified. Those who were reputed to have assisted the consuls with the greatest zeal on this occasion were of three families, the Postumii, the Sempronii, and third, the Cloelii, all of them men most illustrious for the dignity of their birth, very powerful because of their bands of followers, and distinguished for their wealth, their reputation and their exploits in war. These, it was agreed, were the chief agents in preventing the law from being ratified.

XLII. The next day the tribunes, having associated with themselves the most prominent plebeians, considered how they should deal with the situation,

¹ The clause "or those who in various parts . . . move toward them" is reported only from a MS. now lost. Recent editors have bracketed these words.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τοῦτο καὶ¹ παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογούμενον εἰληφότες,
 τὸ μὴ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἄγειν ὑπὸ² τὴν³ δίκην, ἀλλὰ
 τοὺς ὑπηρετοῦντας αὐτοῖς ἴδιώτας, ὃν κολαζο-
 μένων ἔμελλε τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλάττων
 ἔσεσθαι λόγος, ὥσπερ ὁ Σίκκιος ὑπετίθετο· περὶ δὲ
 τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὑπὸ τὰς αἰτίας ἀχθησομένων ὅσον
 εἶναι χρή, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος ὃ θήσονται τῇ δί-
 κῃ, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τοῦ τιμῆματος πηλίκον ἔσται
 2 τὸ μέγεθος, ἐπιμελῆ ποιούμενοι ζήτησιν. οἱ μὲν
 οὖν χαλεπώτεροι τὰς φύσεις ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζόν τε καὶ
 φοβερώτερον⁴ ἄπαντα ταῦτα προάγειν παρήνουν,
 οἱ δὲ ἐπιεικέστεροι τούναντίον ἐπὶ τὸ μετριώτε-
 ρον καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον, ὁ δὲ ταύτης ἡγούμενος
 τῆς γυνώμης καὶ πείσας αὐτοὺς ἦν Σίκκιος, ὁ τοὺς
 ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας⁵ διελθῶν λόγους.
 3 ἔδοξε δ' οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλήθος τῶν πα-
 τρικίων ἔᾶσαι, Κλοιλίους δὲ καὶ Ποστομίους καὶ
 Σεμπρωνίους ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἄγειν ὃν ἐπραξαν
 ὑφέξοντας δίκας⁶. ἐγκαλεῖν δ' αὐτοῖς ὅτι τῶν Ἱερῶν
 νόμων, οὓς περὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἐκύρωσεν ἡ βουλὴ
 καὶ ὁ δῆμος, οὐθενὶ δεδωκότων ἔξουσίαν ἀναγκά-
 ζειν τοὺς δημάρχους ὑπομένειν τι τῶν ἀβουλήτων
 ὥσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας, ἐκεῖνοι κατασχόντες
 αὐτοὺς ἐκώλυσαν ἐπὶ τέλος ἄγειν τὴν περὶ τοῦ
 4 νόμου διάγνωσιν. τίμημα δ' ἐφάνη ταῖς δίκαιαις ὁρί-
 σαι μήτε θάνατον μήτε φυγὴν μήτ' ἄλλο ἐπίθιθονον
 μηδέν, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο⁷ αὐτοῖς γένηται σωτηρίας αἴ-
 τιον, ἀλλὰ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν Ἱερὰς εἶναι Δήμητρος,
 τὸ μετριώτατον ἐκλεξαμένοις τοῦ νόμου μέρος.

¹ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ΑΒ.

² ἐπὶ Α.

³ τὴν deleted by Gareer.

⁴ Steph. : φοβερώτατον ΑΒ.

⁵ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας om. Α.

⁶ δίκας Β : δίκην Α.

after adopting the general principle, accepted by all, not to bring the consuls themselves to trial, but only their attendants who held no office, since their punishment would be a matter of less concern to most citizens, as Siccius suggested. But the number of the persons to be indicted, the name that should be given to the offence, and the amount of the fine were matters to which they gave careful consideration. Now while those who were naturally more truculent advised going in all these matters to a greater and more terrifying length, and the more reasonable, on the contrary, to a more moderate and humane extent, the man who took the lead for the latter opinion and won the assent of the others was Siccius, who had made the speech in the popular assembly in favour of the land-allotment. They resolved, then, to let the rest of the patricians alone, but to bring the Cloelii, the Postumii and the Sempronii before the popular assembly to stand trial for their acts ; and to make the charge against them that, whereas the sacred laws, which the senate and the assembly had enacted concerning the tribunes, had given no one authority to compel the tribunes to submit, like the other citizens, to anything against their will, these men had restrained them and prevented them from carrying through the deliberation concerning the law. As for the penalty in these trials, they decided to fix neither death, banishment, nor any other invidious punishment, lest that very thing should become the cause of their salvation,¹ but that their estates should be consecrated to Ceres—thus choosing the mildest punishment provided by the law.

¹ Cf. vii. 64, 6.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

δέ γίνετο ταῦτα καὶ παρῆν ὁ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔδει συντελεῖσθαι δίκας. τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατρικίων τοῖς παραληφθεῖσιν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον (ἔτυχον δ' οἱ κράτιστοι παρακληθέντες) ἔδόκει συγχωρεῖν τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐπιτελέσαι¹ τὰς δίκας, ἵνα μή τι μεῖζον κωλυθέντες ἔξεργάσωνται κακόν, καὶ τοῖς δημόταις ἐπιτρέπειν ἀγριαινομένοις εἰς τὰ χρήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκχέαι τὴν χολήν, ἵνα τιθασώτεροι γένωνται τὸ λοιπόν, λαβόντες ὅποσηνοῦν² παρὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν δίκην, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς εἰς χρήματα ζημίας εὐδιόρθωτον ἔχούσης τοῖς πεπονθόσι τὴν συμφοράν· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. ἀλόντων γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμους τὰς δίκας ὁ τε δῆμος ἀγριαινόμενος ἐπαύσατο καὶ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔδόκει τις ἀποδεδόσθαι μετρία καὶ πολιτικὴ βοήθεια,³ τοῖς τε ἀνδράσι τὰς οὐσίας οἱ πατρíκιοι παρὰ τῶν ὡησαμένων ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τῆς ἵσης λυσάμενοι τιμῆς ἀπέδοσαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατεπείγοντα δεινὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον χρησαμένων τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτῶν διελέλυτο.

XLIII. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ πάλιν τῶν δημάρχων τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου εἰσφερόντων λόγον αἴφνιδίως τις ἀπαγγελθεῖσα⁴ πολεμίων ἔφοδος ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Τυσκλανῶν πόλιν αἵτία κωλύσεως ἀποχρώσα ἐγένετο. τῶν γὰρ Τυσκλανῶν κατὰ πλῆθος⁵ εἰς τὴν Ἀρώμην ἀφικομένων καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι δυνάμει πολλῇ πάρεισιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Αἰκανοὶ καὶ τὴν μὲν

¹ ἐπιτελέσαι R : ἐπιτελέσασθαι B.

² ὅποσηνοῦν (ὅπόσην οὖν) G. Krüger, Kiessling : ὅπόσην γοῦν O.

While this was going on the time arrived when the trials of the men were to take place. The consuls and the other patricians who had been invited to the senate-house—the most influential had been summoned—decided to let the tribunes carry out the trials, lest, if they were hindered, they might do some greater mischief, and to allow the enraged plebeians to spend their fury upon the goods of these men, to the end that they might be milder for the future, after taking some revenge, however slight, upon their enemies, particularly since a monetary fine was a misfortune that could easily be made up to the sufferers. And so in fact it turned out. For when the men had been condemned by default, the populace ceased from its anger, and also it seemed that a moderate and statesmanlike power of rendering assistance had been restored to the tribunes, while as for the convicted men, their estates were ransomed by the patricians from those who had purchased them from the treasury for the same price they had paid for them and were restored to the owners. As a result of their handling the matter in this fashion the pressing dangers were dispelled.

XLIII. Not long afterwards, when the tribunes again introduced the subject of the law, the sudden announcement that enemies had made an attack upon Tusculum furnished a sufficient reason for preventing such action. For the Tusculans, coming to Rome in great numbers, said that the Aequians had come against them with a large army, that they had

³ μετρία καὶ πολιτικὴ βοήθεια AB : μετρία γοῦν καὶ πολιτικὴ δύναμις καὶ βοήθεια R.

⁴ ἀπαγγελθεῖσα Bb, ἀπαγγελεῖσα Jacoby. : ἀγγελία A, ἀγγελθεῖσα R. ⁵ πλῆθος B : πλήθη R.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

χώραν αὐτῶν ηδη διηρπάκασι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν, ἐὰν μή τις γένηται ταχεῖα ἐπικουρία, φθάσουσιν ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀράμενοι, ἡ μὲν¹ βουλὴ τοὺς ὑπάτους αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσατο βοηθεῦν ἀμφοτέρους, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι στρατολογίαν προθέντες ἐκάλουν τοὺς πο-
 2 λίτας ἄπαντας ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα. ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν τις² καὶ τότε στάσις ἐναντιουμένων τῇ καταγραφῇ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας οὐ συγχωρούντων ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἀπειθούντων· ἔπραξαν³ δ' οὐθέν. συνελθοῦσα γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ γνώμην ἀπεδείξατο τοὺς πατρικίους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἔξιέναι σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πελάταις, τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολιτῶν τοῖς μὲν βουλομένοις μετέχειν τῆς στρατείας ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πατρίδος γινομένης ὅσια εἶναι τὰ πρὸς θεούς, τοῖς δ' ἐγκαταλείπουσι τοὺς
 3 ὑπάτους τάνατία. ὡς δ' ἀνεγνώσθη τὸ δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν τῇ⁴ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πολλοὶ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸν ἀγῶνα ἑκόντες ὑπέμειναν· οἱ μὲν ἐπιεικέστατοι δι' αἰσχύνην εἰ μηδὲν ἐπικουρήσουσι πόλει συμμάχῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὔνοιαν ἀεί τι πρὸς τῶν ἔχθρῶν βλαπτομένῃ· ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ Σίκκιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ κατηγορήσας ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν σφετερισμένων τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν, σπεῖραν ἐπαγόμενος ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, οἵ στρατεύεσθαι μὲν οὐκέτι ὥραν εἶχον, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος, οὐδ' ἐπιπτον ὑπὸ τὰς ἀνάγκας τῶν νόμων, τιμῶντες δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας, ἐξιόντος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ 4 ἐδικαίωσαν ἀπολείπεσθαι. καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐξελθούσης τότε δυνάμεως ἐμπειρίᾳ τε ἀγώνων

¹ μὲν A : μὲν οὖν R.

² τις B : om. R.

³ Reiske : ἔπραξεν O.

⁴ τῇ added by Reiske.

already plundered their country, and unless some assistance were speedily sent, they would be masters of the city within a few days. Upon this the senate ordered that both consuls should go to the rescue ; and the consuls, having announced a levy, summoned all the citizens to arms. On this occasion also there was something of a sedition, as the tribunes opposed the levy and would not permit the punishments ordained by law to be inflicted on the disobedient. But they accomplished nothing. For the senate met and passed a resolution ordering that the patricians should take the field with their clients, and declaring that to such of the other citizens as were willing to take part in this expedition undertaken for the preservation of the fatherland the gods were propitious, but to those who deserted the consuls they were unpropitious. When the decree of the senate was read in the assembly, many also of the populace voluntarily consented to enter the struggle, the more respectable moved by shame if they should not succour an allied city which because of its attachment to the Romans was always suffering some injury at the hands of its foes. Among these was Siccius, who in the popular assembly had inveighed against those who had appropriated the public land, and he brought with him a cohort of eight hundred men¹ ; these were, like himself, past the military age and not subject to the compulsion of the laws, but as they honoured him because of his many great services, they did not think it right to desert him when he was setting out to war. Indeed, this contingent of the force which set out at that time was far superior to

¹ Livy (iii. 31, 2-4) knows nothing of the story of Siccius related in this and the following chapters.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

καὶ τῇ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ εὐτολμίᾳ μακρῷ τοῦ ἄλλου
 ἄμεινον. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ χάριτι καὶ παρακλήσει τῶν
 πρεσβυτάτων ὑπαχθέντες εἴποντο. ἦν δέ τι¹ μέρος
 ὃ τῶν ὡφελειῶν ἔνεκα τῶν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις γινο-
 μένων πάντα κίνδυνον ἔτοιμον ἦν ὑπομένειν. καὶ
 δι’ ὀλίγου χρόνου δύναμις ἔξηλθε πλήθει τε ἀπο-
 χρώσα καὶ παρασκευαῖς κεχρημένη² λαμπροτάταις.
 5 οἵ μὲν οὖν πολέμιοι προακούσαντες ὅτι μέλλουσιν
 ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔξαγειν ‘Ρωμαῖοι στρατιάν, ἀπῆγον ἐπ’
 οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις. οἱ δ’ ὑπατοι κατὰ σπουδὴν
 ἐλαύνοντες καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐστρατοπεδευκότας
 αὐτοὺς πόλεως Ἀντίου πλησίον ἐν ὑψηλῷ καὶ
 ἀποτόμῳ χωρίῳ καὶ τίθενται τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῆς
 6 ἐκείνων οὐ πρόσω. τέως μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἑαυ-
 τῶν ἐπέμενον³ ἀμφότεροι παρεμβολαῖς, ἔπειτα
 καταφρονήσαντες τῶν ‘Ρωμαίων Αἰκανοὶ τῆς οὐ
 προεπιχειρήσεως καὶ πλῆθος οὐχ ἴκανοὺς εἶναι νο-
 μίσαντες, ἀγοράς τ’ αὐτῶν περιέκοπτον ἔξιόντες
 καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ προνομὴν⁴ ἀποστελλομένους ἢ χόρτον
 ἵπποις⁵ ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ τοῖς⁶ πρὸς ὑδρείαν κατα-
 βαίνουσιν αἰφνιδίως ἐπετίθεντο, προύκαλοῦντό τ’
 αὐτοὺς πολλάκις εἰς μάχην.

XLIV. Ταῦθ’ ὁρῶσι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐδόκει μηκέτι
 διατρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον. ἦν δ’ ἐκείναις ταῖς
 ἥμέραις ἡ τοῦ πολεμεῦ ἔξουσία ‘Ρωμαλίῳ προσ-
 ήκουσα, καὶ ὁ τὸ σύνθημα διδοὺς καὶ εἰς τάξιν
 καθιστὰς ἄρχειν⁷ τε καὶ παύεσθαι μάχης τὸν καιρὸν
 ταμιεύων ἐκεῖνος ἦν· ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκέλευσεν

¹ ἦν δὲ καὶ τι Cobet.

² κεκοσμημένη Garrer, κεχορηγημένη Schenkl.

³ ἐπέμενον AB : ὑπέμενον R.

⁴ προνομὴν B : νομὴν R.

⁵ ἵππεῖς Vassilis.

the rest of the army in point both of experience in action and of courage in the face of dangers. The majority of those who followed along were led to do so out of goodwill toward the oldest citizens and because of their exhortations. And there was a certain element which was ready to undergo any peril for the sake of the booty that is acquired in campaigns. Thus in a short time an army took the field that was sufficient in numbers and most splendidly equipped. The enemy, who had learned in advance that the Romans intended to lead out an army against them, were returning homeward with their forces. But the consuls, making a forced march, came up with them while they lay encamped on a high and steep hill near the city of Antium and placed their camp not far from that of the foe. For some time both armies remained in their camps ; then the Aequians, despising the Romans for not having taken the initiative in attacking, and judging their army to be insufficient in numbers, sallied out and cut off their provisions, drove back those who were sent out for provender or fodder for their horses, fell suddenly upon those who went for water, and challenged them repeatedly to battle.

XLIV. The consuls, seeing this, resolved to put off the fighting no longer. During those days it was Romilius' turn to decide whether to fight or not, and it was he who gave the watchword, drew up the army and determined the proper moment both for beginning and for ending battle. He, having ordered

⁶ τοῖς added by Kiessling.

⁷ τοῦ ἀρχεῖν Reiske.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἀρθῆναι τῆς¹ μάχης καὶ προῆγεν² ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τὸν στρατόν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔτασσεν ἵππεῦς τε καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς κατὰ σπείρας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἐκάστους τόποις, τὸν δὲ Σίκκιον καλέσας λέγει·

2 “‘Ημεῖς μέν, ὡς Σίκκιε, μαχούμεθα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνθάδε, σὺ δ’, ἐν ὅσῳ μέλλομεν ἔτι καὶ παρασκευα-ζόμεθα τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀμφότεροι, χώρει τὴν πλαγίαν ἐκείνην ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ὅρος ἐνθα ἡ τῶν πολεμίων ἐστὶ παρεμβολὴ καὶ μάχην τίθεσο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ χάρακι, ἵν’ ἡ περὶ τῷ φρουρίῳ δείσαντες οἱ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μαχόμενοι καὶ βοηθεῖν προθυμούμενοι νῶτά τε δείξωσι καὶ εὐκατέργαστοι γένωνται, καθάπερ εἰκὸς ἐν ἀναχωρήσει ταχείᾳ καὶ εἰς μίαν ὁδὸν ἄπαντες βιαζόμενοι, ἥ μένοντες αὐτόθι τὸν 3 χάρακα ἀποβάλωσιν. οὕτε γὰρ ἡ φυλάττουσα αὐτὸν δύναμις ἀξιόμαχός ἐστιν, ὡς εἰκάσειεν ἄν τις, ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρυμνῷ τοῦ τόπου δοκοῦσα εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἀσφαλές· ἥ τε ἄμα σοι δύναμις ἀποχρῶσα γένοιτ’ ἄν, ἄνδρες ὀκτακόσιοι πολλῶν ἀθληταὶ πολέμων, τεταραγμένους σκηνοφύλακας ἀπροσδόκητοι προσ-

4 πεσόντες τῷ τολμηρῷ ἐλεῖν.” καὶ ὁ Σίκκιος ἔφησεν· “‘Άλλ’ ἔγωγε ἄπαντα μὲν ἔτοιμος ὑπηρε-τεῖν· τὸ μέντοι ἔργον οὐ ράδιον ὕσπερ σοι δοκεῖ. ὑψηλή τε γὰρ ἡ πέτρα καὶ ἀπότομος ἐφ’ ἥσ ὁ χάραξ, ὁδὸν τε οὐδεμίαν ὅρῳ φέρουσαν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν³ ἔξω τῆς μιᾶς ἥ καταβήσονται οἱ πολέμιοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, φυλακήν τ’ εἰκὸς ἀξιόμαχον εἶναι ἐν αὐτῇ· κανὸς δὲ πάνυ καὶ φαύλη τις οὖσα τύχῃ, πρὸς πολλῷ πλείονα ἥ τὴν σὺν ἐμοὶ δύναμιν ἀντέχειν οἴα τε ἔσται, τό τε χωρίον αὐτὸ παρέξει τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ 5 μὴ ἀλώσεσθαι τὸ ἀσφαλές. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν

¹ ἐκ before τῆς deleted by Sylburg.

the battle standards to be raised and led his army out of the camp, posted the horse and foot according to their companies, each in their proper places, and then, summoning Siccius, said : " We, Siccius, are going to engage the enemy here ; but as for you, while we are still waiting and preparing on both sides for the contest, do you march by yonder transverse road to the top of the hill where the enemy's camp is placed and give battle to the men inside, in order that those who are engaged with us may either, fearing for their stronghold and eager to relieve it, show their backs and thus be easily defeated, as likely they will be when they are making a hasty retreat and are all forcing their way into one road, or may, by staying here, lose their camp. For not only is the force guarding it not a match for you, in all probability, believing as it does that its whole security depends on the natural strength of the position, but the force with you, eight hundred men, veterans of many wars, should be sufficient to capture by a bold stroke mere tent-guards when thrown into confusion by your unexpected attack." And Siccius replied : " For my part, I am ready to obey in everything ; but the task is not so easy as it seems to you. For the cliff on which the camp is situated is lofty and steep, and I see no road leading to it except the one by which the enemy will come down against us, and it is probable that there is an adequate guard placed over it ; but even if it should chance to be a very small and weak one, it will be able to hold out against a much larger force than the one I have, and the place itself will afford the guard security against being captured.

² προῆγεν R(?), προήγαγεν Kiessling : προσῆγεν B.

³ αὐτὸν Bb : αὐτοὺς ABa, αὐτὴν Kiessling.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἀνάθου τὴν γνώμην· ἡ πεῖρα γὰρ ἐπισφαλής· εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔγνωσται σοι δύο τίθεσθαι μάχας ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ, δύναμιν ἀξιόχρεων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων τάξον ἀκολουθεῖν μοι σὺν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. οὐ γὰρ κλέψοντες τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλὰ βίᾳ καὶ φανερώς ἐξελοῦντες¹ ἄνιμεν.”

XLV. “Ετι δ’ αὐτοῦ βουλομένου λέγειν τάκολουθα ὑπολαβὼν ὁ ὅπατος εἶπεν· “Οὐ πολλῶν δεῖ λόγων, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ὑπομένεις πράττειν τὰ προστατόμενα, χώρει διὰ ταχέων καὶ μὴ παραστρατήγει, εἰ δὲ ἀφίστασαι καὶ ἀποδιδράσκεις τὸν κίνδυνον,² ἑτέροις εἰς τὸ ἔργον χρήσομαι. σὺ δὲ τὰς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι μάχας ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ τὰ τετταράκοντα ἔτη στρατευσάμενος καὶ κατατετρωμένος ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, ἐπειδὴ ἐκῶν ἦλθες, ἅπιθι μήτε ὄμιλήσας πολεμίοις μήτ’ ἵδων καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἀκόνα πάλιν τοὺς λόγους οἷς ἀφθόνοις χρήσῃ κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων.³ ποῦ νῦν ἔκεινά σου τὰ πολλὰ ἀριστεῖα, οἵ⁴ στρεπτοὶ καὶ τὰ ψέλλια καὶ τὰ δόρατα καὶ τὰ φάλαρα καὶ οἱ τῶν ὑπάτων στέφανοι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν μονομαχιῶν λάφυρα καὶ πᾶσα ἡ⁵ ἄλλη βαρύτης ἥν τότ’ ἥνεσχόμεθά σου λέγοντος; ἐν ἐνὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ βασανιζόμενος, ἔνθα κίνδυνος ἥν ἀληθινός, ἐξητάσθης οἶος ἥσθα, ὡς ἀλαζῶν⁶ καὶ δόξη τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἐπιτηδεύων, οὐκ ἀληθείᾳ.” καὶ ὁ Σίκκιος δυσανασχετῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄνειδεσιν· “Οἴδα,” φησίν, “ὦ ‘Ρωμίλιε, ὅτι δυεῖν πρόκειται σοι θάτερον, ἥ ζῶντά με⁷ διεργάσασθαι καὶ τὸ μηδὲν

¹ ἐξελοῦντες Bb : ἐξαιροῦντες A.

² τὸν κίνδυνον οπ. A.

³ οἷς ἀφθόνοις χρήσῃ κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων Post, οἷς χρήσῃ κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων R : οἷς χρήσῃ κατὰ τοῦ φθόνου τῶν πατρικίων AB, Jacoby.

BOOK X. 44, 5—45, 4

Do then, if possible, reconsider your purpose, for the attempt is hazardous ; but if you are absolutely determined to fight two battles at the same time, then order a sufficient force of chosen men to follow me and the older men. For we are not going up to take the place by surprise, but by main force and openly."

XLV. Although Siccius wanted to go on and finish his explanation, the consul interrupted him and said : " There is no need of many words. But if you can bring yourself to obey my orders, go at once and do not play the general ; if, however, you decline and run away from the danger, I shall use other men for the task. As for you, who fought those hundred and twenty battles and served those forty years and whose body is covered with wounds, since you came voluntarily, depart without either encountering the enemy or seeing them ; and instead of your arms, sharpen once more your words which you will expend without stint against the patricians. Where now are those many prizes given you for valour, those collars, bracelets, spears, and decorations, those crowns from the consuls, those spoils gained in single combat, and all your other tiresome boasting which we had to endure hearing from you the other day ? For when you were tested in this single instance where the danger was real, you proved what sort of man you were—a braggart practising bravery in imagination, not in reality." Siccius, stung by these reproaches, answered : " I am aware, Romilius, that the choice lies before you either to destroy me while alive and make me

⁴ *oi* added by Reiske.

⁵ η B : om. R.

⁶ ως ἀλαζῶν B : om. R.

⁷ με Portus, Sylburg : om. O, Jacoby.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἀποδοῦναι δόξαν αἰσχίστην ἐνεγκάμενον δειλίας,
 ἥ κακῶς καὶ ἀδήλως κατακοπέντα ὑπὸ τῶν πο-
 λεμίων ἀποθανεῖν,¹ ἐπειδὴ κάγώ τις ἔδοξα εἶναι
 τῶν ἀξιούντων ἐλεύθερα φρονεῖν· οὐ γάρ εἰς ἄδηλον,
 5 ἀλλ’ εἰς ἐγνωσμένον ἀποστέλλεις μεθάνατον· πλὴν
 ὑπομενῶ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον καὶ πειράσομαι φανεὶς
 ψυχὴν οὐ κακὸς ἥ κρατῆσαι τοῦ χάρακος ἥ μὴ
 τυχὼν τῆς ἐλπίδος εὐγενῶς ἀποθανεῖν. ὑμᾶς δέ,
 ὡς συστρατιῶται, μάρτυρας ἀξιῶ γενέσθαι μοι πρὸς
 τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας, ἐὰν πύθησθε τὸν ἐμὸν μόρον,
 ὅτι με ἀπώλεσεν ἥ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἥ πολλὴ τῶν λόγων
 6 ἐλευθερία.” ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον ἀποκρινάμε-
 νος καὶ δακρύσας τούς τε συνήθεις ἄπαντας ἀσπα-
 σάμενος ὥχετο τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους ἄνδρας ἄγων
 κατηφεῖς καὶ δεδακρυμένους ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ
 πορευομένους· καὶ ἥ ἄλλη δὲ πᾶσα στρατιὰ δὶ'
 οἴκτου τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔλαβεν ὡς οὐκέτι ὁψομένη τοὺς
 ἄνδρας.

XLVI. ‘Ο δὲ Σίκκιος ἐτέραν ἀποστραφείς, οὐχ
 ἦν δέ ‘Ρωμύλιος ὑπελάμβανε, παρὰ τὴν λαγόνα τοῦ
 ὅρους ἥγεν. ἐπειτα, ἦν γάρ τις δρυμὸς ὕλην βα-
 θεῖαν ἔχων, εἰς τοῦτον ἄγων τοὺς ἄνδρας ἵσταται
 τε² καὶ φησιν· “‘Ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἥγεμονος ἀπεστάλ-
 μεθα, ὥσπερ ὄρāτε, ἀπολούμενοι. ἐδόκει γάρ ἡμᾶς
 τὴν πλαγίαν χωρῆσειν ὄδόν, ἦν ἀναβαίνοντας ἀμή-
 χανον ἦν μὴ οὐ φανεροὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι.
 ἔγω δέ ὑμᾶς ἀξω κατ’³ ἄδηλον τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ὄδὸν

¹ ἀποθανεῖν <έāν> Capps, to avoid an awkward change in subject for the infinitive ἀποθανεῖν. Kiessling proposed to read πρόκειται μοι θ., ἥ ζῶντα διεργάσθαι καὶ εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἀποδοθῆναι, ἥ . . . ἀποθανεῖν. Post would read π. μοι θ., ἥ ζῶντα ἐμαυτὸν διεργάσσασθαι καὶ τὸ μὴ δέον ἀποδοῦναι.

² τε A : om. R.

³ κατ’ Reiske : καὶ O.

a mere nobody bearing the most shameful reputation for cowardice, or that I shall die¹ a miserable and obscure death, hacked to pieces by the enemy, because I too seemed to be one of those who insist on showing the spirit of free men. For you are sending me, not to a doubtful, but to a predetermined death. Yet I will undertake even this task and endeavour, showing myself no coward, either to capture the camp or, failing in that, gallantly to die. And I ask you, fellow soldiers, if you hear of my death, to bear witness for me to the rest of the citizens that I fell a sacrifice to my valour and to my great frankness of speech." Having thus answered the consul, with tears in his eyes, and embraced all his intimate friends, he set out at the head of his eight hundred men, all dejected and weeping, believing that they were taking the road to death. And all the rest of the army were moved to compassion at the sight, expecting to see these men no more.

XLVI. Siccius, however, turned off by a different road, not the one which Romilius had in mind, and marched along the flank of the hill. Then—for there was a thicket with a heavy growth of trees in it—he led his men into it, halted there and said : " We have been sent by the commander, as you see, to perish. For he expected us to take the transverse road, which we could not possibly have ascended without coming into full view of the enemy. But I will lead you by a way that is out of the enemy's sight and I have

¹ Or, following the suggestion of Capps, "or to let me die." According to Kiessling we should have: "the choice lies before me either to be destroyed and reduced to a mere nobody . . . or to die"; according to Post: "the choice lies before me either to destroy myself and pay the debt I do not owe . . . or to die."

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

καὶ πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχω τρίβων ἐπιλήψεσθαι τινῶν
 αἱ κατὰ κορυφῆς¹ ἄξουσιν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα.
 2 καὶ ἐλπίδας χρηστὰς ἔχετε.” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἦγε διὰ
 τοῦ δρυμοῦ, καὶ πολὺν ἥδη διεληλυθὼς τόπον εὑ-
 ρίσκει κατὰ δαίμονα ἄνδρα ἐξ ἀγροῦ ποθεν ἀπιόντα,²
 ὃν τοῖς νεωτάτοις συλλαβεῖν κελεύσας ἤγειρόνα
 ποιεῖται τῆς ὁδοῦ. κάκενος αὐτοὺς ἄγων περὶ³ τὸ
 ὅρος σὺν πολλῷ χρόνῳ καθίστησιν ἐπὶ τὸν παρα-
 κείμενον τῷ χάρακι λόφον, ὅθεν ἦν ταχεῖα καὶ
 3 εὐεπίφορος ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὁδός. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐγίνετο
 χρόνῳ, συνήσαν αἱ τε τῶν Ρωμαίων καὶ αἱ τῶν
 Αἰκανῶν δυνάμεις ὁμόσε καὶ καταστᾶσαι ἐμάχοντο,
 πλήθει τ’ ἀγχώμαλοι οὖσαι καὶ ὀπλισμοῖς καὶ προ-
 θυμίᾳν παρεχόμεναι⁴ τὴν αὐτήν· καὶ διέμειναν ἐπὶ
 πολὺν χρόνον ἴσορροποι, τοτὲ μὲν ἐπιβαίνοντες
 ἀλλήλοις, τοτὲ δ’ ὑποχωροῦντες, ὑπεῖς τε ὑπεῦσι
 καὶ πεζοὶ πεζοῖς, καὶ ἔπεισον ἐξ ἔκατέρων ἄνδρες
 4 ἐπιφανεῖς. ἔπειτα κρίσιν λαμβάνει ὁ πόλεμος ἐπι-
 τελῆ. ὁ γὰρ Σίκκιος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ
 πλησίον ἐγένοντο τῆς παρεμβολῆς τῶν Αἰκανῶν,
 ἀφύλακτον εὑρόντες ἐκεῖνο⁵ τὸ μέρος τοῦ χάρακος
 (ἐπὶ γὰρ θάτερα τὰ πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους ἐστραμ-
 μένα μέρη πᾶσα ἡ φυλάττουσα αὐτὸν δύναμις
 ἐτράπετο κατὰ θέαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος), ἐπεισπεσόντες
 κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν κατὰ κορυφῆς γίνονται τῶν
 5 φυλάκων. ἔπειτ’ ἀλαλάξαντες ἔθεον ἐπ’ αὐτούς· οἱ
 δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ παρ’ ἐλπίδα δεινοῦ ἐκταραχθέντες καὶ
 οὐ τοσούτους εἶναι δόξαντες, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἔτερον ἥκειν
 ὕπατον ἄγοντα τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, ἐρρίπτουν
 ἔξω τοῦ χάρακος ἑαυτούς, οὐδὲ τὰ ὅπλα οἱ πολλοὶ

¹ Reiske : κορυφὴν Ο.

² ἀπιόντα Ο : ἐπιόντα Grasberger.

³ ἐπὶ Α.

great hopes of gaining some paths that will bring us over the summit to their camp. So I bid you have the best of hopes." Having said this, he led the way through the thicket, and after going a good distance, by good fortune came upon a man who was on his way home from a farm somewhere ; and ordering him to be seized by the youngest men of his company, he took him for his guide. This man, leading them round the hill, brought them after a long time to the height adjacent to the camp, from which there was a short and easy descent to their goal. While this was happening, the forces of the Romans and of the Aequians engaged and fought steadfastly, since they were equally matched both in numbers and in armament and displayed the same ardour. For a long time they continued to be evenly balanced as they now attacked one another and now withdrew, horse against horse and foot against foot ; and prominent men fell on both sides. Then the battle took a definite turn. For Siccius and his men, when they came near the camp of the Aequians, found that part of it unguarded, since the entire force appointed to guard it had gone to the other side that faced the field of battle, in order to witness the conflict ; and bursting into the camp with great ease, they found themselves immediately overhead in relation to the guards. Then, uttering their war-cry, they attacked them on the run. The garrison, confounded by this unexpected danger and not imagining that their assailants were so few in number, but supposing that the other consul had arrived with his army, hurled themselves out of the camp, most of them not even

: ⁴ παρεχόμεναι R : παρεχόμενοι AB.

⁵ ἔκεῖνο B : om. R.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

φυλάξαντες. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Σίκκιον τοὺς καταλαμβανομένους αὐτῶν φονεύοντες καὶ τοῦ χάρακος
 6 κρατήσαντες ἔχώρουν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. οἱ δὲ Αἰκανοὶ τοῦ χάρακος τὴν ἄλωσιν ἀπό τε τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς τῶν σφετέρων αἰσθόμενοι καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ κατὰ νότου σφίσι τοὺς πολεμίους
 7 ἐπιόντας ὄρωντες, οὐκέτι γενναῖον οὐδὲν ἀπεδείξαντο, ἀλλὰ διασπάσαντες τὰς τάξεις ἕσωζον ἑαυτοὺς ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας ὁδούς· ἔνθα ὁ πλεῖστος αὐτῶν ἐγίνετο¹ φόνος. οὐ γὰρ ἀνίεσαν οἱ ‘Ρωμαῖοι μέχρι νυκτὸς διώκοντές τε καὶ κτείνοντές τοὺς²
 8 ἄλισκομένους. ὁ δὲ πλείστους τ' αὐτῶν διαφθείρας καὶ λαμπρότατα ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενος Σίκκιος ἦν,
 ὃς, ἐπειδὴ τέλος ἔώρα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔχοντα
 σκότους ὄντος ἥδη, τὴν σπεῖραν ἄγων ἐπὶ τὸν
 κρατηθέντα ὑπὸ σφῶν χάρακα ἀνέστρεφε μεγάλης
 9 χαρᾶς καὶ πολλοῦ μεστὸς ὡν αὐχήματος. οἱ τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἀθῷοι καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς πάντες, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν παθόντες ὡν προσεδόκησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξαν ἐπιφανεστάτην ἔξενεγκάμενοι, πατέρα καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ θεὸν καὶ πάντα τὰ τιμιώτατα ὄνομάζοντες ἀπλήστως εἶχον ἀσπασμῶν τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοφρονήσεων.³ ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ή ἄλλῃ τῶν ‘Ρωμαίων φάλαγξ ἄμα τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ἀνέστρεφεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτῆς χάρακα.

XLVII. Μέσαι τ' ἥδη νύκτες ἦσαν, καὶ ὁ Σίκκιος μητσικακῶν τοῖς ὑπάτοις τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀποστολῆς εἰς νοῦν βάλλεται τὴν δόξαν ἀφελέσθαι τοῦ κατορθώματος. κοινωσάμενος δὲ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν

¹ ἐγίνετο Β : ἐγένετο Α.

² τοὺς added by Sylburg.

³ φιλοφρονήσεων Cobet : φιλοφρονήσεων ἥδονάς Ο ; καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοφρονήσεων ἥδονῆς Reiske.

holding on to their arms. Siccius and his men slew all of them they overtook, and after possessing themselves of their camp, marched against those who were in the plain. The Aequians, perceiving from the flight and outcries of their men that their camp had been taken, and then, not long afterwards, seeing the enemy falling upon their rear, no longer displayed any valour, but broke their ranks and endeavoured to save themselves, some by one way and some by another. And here they met with their greatest loss of life ; for the Romans did not give over the pursuit till night, killing all whom they captured. The man who slew the largest number of them and performed the most brilliant deeds was Siccius, who, when he saw that the enemy's resistance was at an end, it being now dark, returned with his cohort to the camp which they had taken, filled with great joy and much exultation. All his men, safe and uninjured, having not only suffered none of the calamities they had expected, but also won the greatest glory, called him their father, their preserver, their god, and every other honourable appellation, and could not sate themselves with embracing him and showing every other mark of affection. In the meantime the rest of the Roman army with the consuls was returning from the pursuit to their camp.

XLVII. It was now midnight when Siccius, full of resentment against the consuls for having sent him to his death, resolved to take from them the glory of the victory ; and having communicated his intention

* ἀπὸ Steph., ἐκ Kayser : om. AB.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἢν εἶχε διάνοιαν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσιν ὄρθως¹ ἐφαίνετο, καὶ οὐθεὶς ἢν ὃς οὐκ ἔθαύμαζε τῆς τε φρονήσεως καὶ τῆς τόλμης τὸν ἄνδρα, λαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κελεύσας ἀναλαβεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν² ἀνθρώπους ὅσους ἐν τῷ χάρακι κατέλαβε τῶν Αἰκανῶν καὶ ἵππους καὶ τάλλα ὑποζύγια κατέκοψεν· ἐπειτα ὑφῆψε τὰς σκηνὰς ὅπλων τε καὶ σίτου καὶ ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτηδείων γεμούσας τῶν τε ἄλλων χρημάτων ὥν ἐκ τῆς Τυσκλανῶν λείας 2 ἐπήγοντο πολλῶν πάνυ ὅντων. ὡς δὲ ἄπαντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἡφάνιστο, περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἀπήει φέρων οὐθὲν ὅτι μὴ τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ διανύσας σπουδῇ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰς Ῥώμην παρῆν. ὡς δ' ὥφθησαν ἄνθρωποι καθωπλισμένοι παιανίζοντες τε καὶ σπουδῇ χωροῦντες αἷματι πολλῷ πεφυρμένοι, δρόμος ἐγίνετο καὶ πολλὴ προθυμία τῶν βουλομένων ἴδεῖν τ' αὐτοὺς 3 καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα ἀκοῦσαι. οἱ δὲ μέχρις ἀγορᾶς ἐλθόντες ἐδήλωσαν τοὺς δημάρχους τὰ γενόμενα, κάκεῦνοι συναγαγόντες ἐκκλησίαν³ ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἄπαντας λέγειν. ὅχλου δὲ πολλοῦ συναχθέντος παρελθὼν ὁ Σίκκιος τὴν τε νίκην αὐτοῖς ἐδήλωσε καὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐνεφάνισε, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τὴν ἴδιαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέρων ἄνδρῶν ὀκτακοσίων, οὓς ἀποθανουμένους ἀπέστειλαν οἱ ὑπατοι, ὅ τε χάραξ ὁ τῶν Αἰκανῶν ἐλήφθη καὶ ἡ δύναμις ἡ⁴ παραταξαμένη τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἡναγ- 4 κάσθη φυγεῖν· ἡξίου τε αὐτοὺς μηδενὶ τῆς νίκης ἐτέρῳ τὴν χάριν εἰδέναι καὶ τελευτῶν ἔτι προσέθηκεν ἐκεῖνον τὸν λόγον, ὅτι “τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ ὅπλα σώζοντες ἥκομεν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν κεκρατημένων οὔτε μεῖζον οὕτ’ ἐλαττον ἐξενεγκάμε-

to his companions and received their approval, every one of them admiring the sagacity and daring of the man, he took his arms and ordering the rest to do the same, he first slaughtered all the Aequians he found in the camp, as well as the horses and beasts of burden ; then he set fire to the tents, which were full of arms, corn, apparel, warlike stores and all the other articles, very many in number, which they were carrying off as part of the Tusculan booty. After everything had been consumed by the flames, he left the camp about break of day, carrying with him nothing but his arms, and after a hurried march came to Rome. As soon as armed men were seen singing paeans of victory and marching in haste, all covered with blood, the people flocked to them, earnestly desiring both to see them and to hear their exploits. When they had come as far as the Forum, they gave an account to the tribunes of what had passed ; and those magistrates, calling an assembly, ordered them to tell their story to all. When a large crowd had gathered, Siccarius came forward and not only announced to them the victory, but also described the nature of the battle, showing that by his own valour and that of the eight hundred veterans with him, whom the consuls had sent to be slain, the camp of the Aequians had been taken and the army arrayed against the consuls had been put to flight. He asked them to give thanks for the victory to no one else, and ended by adding these words : “ We have come with our lives and our arms safe, but have brought with us nothing else, great or small, of

¹ ὄρθως om. B. Retaining ὄρθως, Reiske added βεβουλεύσθαι after ἔφαίνετο, Kayser ἔχειν before ἔφαίνετο.

² μὲν om. AB.

³ ἐκκλησίαν R : εἰς ἐκκλησίαν B.

⁴ ή Steph.: om. AB.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

5 νοι." ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀκούσας τὸν λόγον εἰς οἰκτόν τε καὶ δάκρυα προῦπεσεν ὄρῶν μὲν τὰς ἡλικίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐνθυμούμενος δὲ τὰς ἀρετάς, ἀγανακτῶν δὲ καὶ νεμεσῶν τοῖς ἐπιβαλομένοις τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν ἐρημῶσαι τὴν πόλιν. ἐγεγόνει δέ, ὃ προῦλαβεν ὁ Σίκκιος, μῆσος εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν 6 πολιτῶν. οὐδὲ γάρ ἡ βουλὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα μετρίως ἦνεγκεν, ἢ οὕτ' ἐψηφίσατο αὐτοῖς πομπὴν θριάμβων οὕτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἀγῶσι γινομένων. τὸν μέντοι Σίκκιον ὁ δῆμος, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων καιρός, δήμαρχον ἀπέδειξεν, ἥς κύριος ἦν τιμῆς ἀποδιδούς. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιφανέστατα τῶν τότε πραχθέντων τοιάδ' ἦν.

XLVIII. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μετὰ τούτους τοὺς ὑπάτους¹ ἔτει Σπόριος Ταρπῆιος καὶ Αὖλος Τερμήνιος παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀρχήν· οἱ τά τ' ἄλλα θεραπεύοντες τὸν δῆμον διετέλεσαν καὶ τὸ τῶν δημάρχων² δόγμα προεβούλευσαν, ἐπειδὴ πλέον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔώρων τοῖς πατρικίοις γινόμενον ἐκ τοῦ κωλύειν, ἄλλὰ καὶ φθόνον καὶ μῆσος καὶ βλάβας δὲ ἴδιας καὶ συμφορὰς 2 τοῖς προθυμότατα ὑπέρ αὐτῶν ἀγωνιζομένοις. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς εἰς δέος ἥγαγεν ἡ τῶν ὑπατευσάντων τὸν παρελθόντα ἐνιαυτὸν συμφορὰ νεωστὶ γενομένη δεινὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παθόντων, οὐδεμίαν δὲ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εὑρομένων βοήθειαν. Σίκκιος μὲν γάρ ὁ τὸν Αἴκανῶν στρατὸν αὐτῷ χάρακι ἀράμενος δήμαρχος τότ' ἀποδειχθείσ, ὕσπερ ἔφην, τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμέρᾳ θύσας εἰσιτήρια³

¹ τοὺς ὑπάτους om. A.

² τὸ τῶν δημάρχων *Lapus* (in his translation) : τὸ περὶ τῶν δ. O. Jacoby, τὸ παρὰ τῶν δ. Niebuhr, τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν Sylburg.

³ εἰσιτήρια Reiske : σωτήρια O.

the things we captured." The populace, upon hearing this, burst into compassion and tears, as they observed the age of the men and recalled their deeds of valour ; and they were filled with resentment and indignation against those who had attempted to deprive the commonwealth of such men. For his report, as Siccius foresaw, had drawn upon the consuls the hatred of all the citizens. Indeed, not even the senate took the matter lightly ; for it voted them neither a triumph nor any of the other honours usually bestowed for glorious engagements. As for Siccius, however, when the time for the elections came, the populace made him tribune, granting him the honour of which they had the disposal. These were the most important of the events at that time.

XLVIII. These consuls¹ were succeeded the following year by Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Terminus, who constantly courted the populace in all matters and in particular secured the preliminary decree of the senate for the measure of the tribunes ; for they saw that the patricians reaped no advantage from their opposition, but, on the contrary, that the most zealous champions of their cause drew upon themselves envy and hatred, as well as private losses and calamities. But they were chiefly alarmed by the recent misfortune of the consuls of the preceding year, who had been severely treated by the populace and had been unable to get any help from the senate. For Siccius, who had destroyed the army of the Aequians, camp and all, and had now been made a tribune, as I stated, on the very first day of his magis-

¹ For chaps. 48-52 cf. Livy iii. 31, 5-8. The name of the second consul should probably be Aternius (the MSS. of Livy give Aeternius).

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

κατὰ νόμον, πρὶν ὅτιοῦν ἄλλο διαπράξασθαι τῶν κοινῶν, προεῖπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ Τίτον Ῥωμίλιον ἥκειν ἀπολογησόμενον ἀδικήματος δημοσίου δίκην ἐπὶ δικαστῇ τῷ δήμῳ, τὸν χρόνον ἀποδεῖξας τοῦ 3 ἀγῶνος. Λεύκιος δὲ τότ’ ἀγορανομῶν, δήμαρχος δὲ τῷ παρελθόντι ἔτει γεγονώς, τὸν ἔτερον τῶν περυσινῶν ὑπάτων Γάιον Οὐετούριον εἰς ὁμοίαν δίκην προσεκαλέσατο.¹ πολλῆς δὲ γενομένης ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ ἀγῶνος χρόνῳ σπουδῆς τε καὶ παρακλήσεως ἀμφοτέρων οἵ μὲν ὑπόδικοι πολλὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχον ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τὸ κινδύνευμα ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιοῦντο, ὑπισχνουμένων αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρων τε 4 καὶ νέων οὐκ ἔάσειν τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελεσθῆναι. οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι πάντα ἐκ πολλοῦ φυλαττόμενοι καὶ οὔτε δεήσεις οὔτε ἀπειλὰς οὔτε κίνδυνον οὐδένα ὑπολογιζόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ὁ τοῦ ἀγῶνος καιρός,² ἐκάλουν τὸν δῆμον· ἦν δὲ παλαίτερον ἔτι συνερρυηκὼς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὁ χερνήτης καὶ αὐτούργος ὄχλος, καὶ προσνεμηθεὶς τῷ κατὰ πόλιν τὴν τε ἀγορὰν ἐνέπλησε καὶ τοὺς φέροντας εἰς αὐτὴν στενωπούς.

XLIX. Πρώτη μὲν οὖν εἰσῆλθεν ἡ κατὰ Ῥωμιλίου δίκη. καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ Σίκκιος τά τε ἄλλα κατηγόρει τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὃσα ὑπατεύων βίᾳ εἰς τοὺς δημάρχους ἔδοξε διαπράξασθαι, καὶ τελευτῶν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν διεξῆε τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῇ σπείρᾳ γενομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ· καὶ παρείχετο αὐτῶν μάρτυρας τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν συστρατευσαμένων, οὐ δημοτικοὺς μόνους,³ ἀλλὰ καὶ⁴ πατρι-

¹ Reiske : προεκαλέσατο Ο.

² καιρὸς Α : χρόνος Β.

³ μόνους (or μόνον) added by Cary.

⁴ καὶ ΑΒ : om. R(?)

tracy, after offering the usual inaugural sacrifices and before transacting any other public business, had in a meeting of the assembly cited Titus Romilius to appear before the tribunal of the populace to make his defence against a charge of injuring the state ; and he had set a day for his trial. And Lucius,¹ who was then aedile and had been tribune the year before, had summoned Gaius Veturius, the other consul of the preceding year, to a similar trial. During the interval before the trial much partisan zeal and encouragement were shown to both of the accused, and they accordingly placed great hopes in the senate and made light of the danger, as both the older and younger senators promised them that they would not allow the trial to be carried out. But the tribunes, who had long been providing against all contingencies and paid no heed to either entreaties, threats or any danger, when the time for the trial came, called a meeting of the popular assembly. Even before this the crowd of day-labourers and husbandmen had flocked in from the country and, being added to the city throng, filled not only the Forum, but all the streets that led to it.

XLIX. The first trial to be held was that of Romilius. Siccius, coming forward, charged him with all the acts of violence he was reputed to have committed against the tribunes while he was consul, and then at the end related the plot which the general had formed against him and his cohort. He produced as witnesses to support his charges the most prominent men who had served with him in the campaign, not plebeians alone,² but patricians as well. Among

¹ Probably the man called L. Alienus by Livy (iii. 31, 5).

² See crit. note; the Icili (§ 4) were plebeians.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

κίους· ἐν οἷς ἦν νεανίας οὐκ ἀφανῆς οὔτε κατὰ γένους
 ἀξίωσιν οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἴδιαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰ πολέμια
 πάνυ ἀγαθός· Σπόριος Οὐεργίνιος ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ.
 2 οὗτος ἔφη Μάρκον Ἰκίλλιον, ἐνὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς
 Σικκίου σπείρας υἱόν, ἡλικιώτην αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλον
 ἀπολυθῆναι τῆς ἔξοδου βουληθείς, ὡς ἐπὶ θάνατον
 ἔξιόντα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός, Αὖλον Οὐεργίνιον τὸν
 ἑαυτοῦ θεῖον, πρεσβευτὴν τότε συστρατεύμενον,
 παρακαλέσας ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, ἀξιῶν σφίσι
 3 ταύτην δοθῆναι τὴν χάριν· ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν
 ὑπάτων, ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἐπελθεῖν δάκρυα τὴν συμφορὰν
 τοῦ¹ ἐταίρου προανακλαιομένω, τὸν δὲ νεανίαν,
 ὑπὲρ οὐ τὰς δεήσεις ἐποιεῖτο, πεπυσμένον ταῦτα
 ἐλθεῖν καὶ λόγον αἰτησάμενον εἰπεῖν ὅτι τοῖς μὲν
 δεομένοις πολλὴν οἶδε χάριν, αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἀν ἀγα-
 πήσειεν² τυχὸν χάριτος ἥτις αὐτὸν ἀφελεῖται τὸ
 πρὸς τὸ γένος εὐσεβές, οὐδ' ἀν ἀπολειφθείη τοῦ
 πατρός, τοσῷδε μᾶλλον ὅσῳ γ' ἀποθανούμενος
 ἔρχεται,³ καὶ πάντες τοῦτο ἵσασιν· ἀλλὰ συνεξιῶν
 ἐπαμυνεῖ τε,⁴ ὅσα δύναται, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνῳ⁵
 4 κοινωνὸς ἔσται τύχης. ταῦτα τοῦ μειρακίου μαρ-
 τυρήσαντος οὐδεὶς ἦν ὃς οὐκ ἐπασχέ τι πρὸς τὴν
 τύχην τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κληθέντες
 ἐπὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν παρῆλθον ὃ τε πατὴρ Ἰκίλλιος
 καὶ τὸ μειράκιον καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς⁶ ἔλεξαν,
 οὐκέτι κατέχειν τὰ δάκρυα οἱ πλείους ἐδύναντο
 5 τῶν δημοτικῶν. ἀπολογηθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμιλίου
 καὶ διελθόντος λόγον οὔτε θεραπευτικὸν οὔτε ἀρ-

¹ τοῦ ΑΒ : τὴν R, τὴν τοῦ Kruger, Jacoby.

² Sylburg : ἀγαπήσειν ΑΒ.

³ Cobet : οἴχεται Ο.

⁴ ἐπαμυνεῖ τε Cobet : ἐπαμυνεῖται Ο.

them there was a youth distinguished both for the rank of his family and for his own merit, and a most valiant soldier. His name was Spurius Verginius. This youth related that, desiring to get Marcus Icilius, the son of one of the men in the cohort of Siccius, a youth of his own age and his friend, released from that expedition, since he believed that he with his father would be going out to his death, he had summoned Aulus Verginius, his uncle, who was a legate on that campaign, and with him had gone to the consuls asking that this favour be granted to them. And when the consuls refused, he said that he himself had wept and lamented in advance the misfortune of his friend, but that the young man for whom he had interceded, being informed of this, went to the consuls, and asking leave to speak, said that, while he was very grateful to those who were interceding for him, he would not be content to accept a favour that would deprive him of the opportunity of showing his filial devotion, and that he would not desert his father, particularly when the other was going to his death, as everyone knew, but that he would go out with him, defend him to the utmost of his power and share the same fortune with him. After the young man had given this testimony, there was not a single person who did not feel some emotion at the fate of those men. And when the Iciliii themselves, father and son, were called as witnesses and gave an account of their experience, most of the plebeians could no longer refrain from tears. Then, when Romilius made his defence and delivered a speech that was neither deferential nor suited to

⁵ αὐτῆς ἐκείνω Reiske : αὐτῶν ἐκείνων O.

⁶ αὐτοὺς B.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

μόττοντα τοῖς καιροῖς, ἀλλ' ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ
 ἀνυπευθύνῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγα φρονοῦντα, διπλασίως
 ἐπερρώσθησαν¹ εἰς τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁργὴν οἱ πολ-
 λοὶ.² καὶ γενόμενοι τῶν ψήφων κύριοι κατέγνωσαν
 ἀδικεῦν οὕτω σαφῶς³ ὥστε πάσαις ταῖς ψήφοις
 τῶν φυλῶν ἀλῶναι τὸν ἄνδρα. ἦν δὲ τὸ τίμημα τῆς
 δίκης ἀργυρικόν, ἀσσάρια μυρία. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ
 ἄνευ προνοίας τινὸς ὁ Σίκκιος ποιῆσαι μοι δοκεῖ,
 ἀλλ' ἵνα τοὺς τε πατρικίους ἐλάττων ἡ περὶ τοῦ
 ἀνδρὸς σπουδὴ γένηται, καὶ μηδὲν ἔξαμάρτωσι περὶ
 τὴν ψηφοφορίαν, ἐνθυμηθέντες ὅτι εἰς ἀργύριον
 ζημιώσεται ὁ ἀλοὺς καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν ἔτερον, καὶ τοῖς
 δημοτικοῖς ἡ πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν δρμὴ προθυμοτέρα
 μήτε ψυχῆς ἄνδρα ὑπατικὸν μήτε πατρίδος ἀπο-
 στεροῦσιν. Ἐρωμιλίου δὲ καταδικασθέντος οὐ πολ-
 λαῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις καὶ Οὔετούριος ἔάλω· τίμημα
 δὲ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐπεγέγραπτο ἀργυρικόν, ἡμιόλιον
 θατέρου.

L. Ταῦτα δὴ λογιζομένοις τοῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπάτοις
 πολὺ παρέστη δέος καὶ τοῦ μὴ ταῦτὰ παθεῖν ὑπὸ⁴
 τοῦ δήμου μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν πρόνοια, ὥστ' οὐκέτι
 ἀποκρυπτόμενοι τὰς γνώμας, ἀλλὰ φανερῶς τὰ τοῦ
 δήμου πολιτευόμενοι διετέλουν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν
 ἐπὶ τῆς λοχίτιδος ἐκκλησίας νόμον ἐκύρωσαν ἵνα
 ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἔξῃ πάσαις τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας ἢ παρα-
 νομοῦντας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξουσίαν ζημιοῦν. τέως
 γὰρ οὐχ ἅπασιν ἔξῃ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπάτοις μόνοις.⁴

¹ ἔτι before ἐπερρώσθησαν deleted by Cobet.

² πολλοὶ Kiespling : πολῖται O, Jacoby.

³ οὕτω σαφῶς Capps : οὕτως O, Jacoby.

⁴ μόνοις om. AB.

the occasion, but haughty and boastful of the irresponsible power of his magistracy, the majority¹ were doubly confirmed in their resentment against him. And upon being permitted to give their votes, they found him so clearly guilty that he was condemned by the votes of all the tribes. The punishment in his case was a fine, amounting to 10,000 *asses*. Siccius, now, did not do this,² it seems to me, without some purpose, but to the end that the patricians, on the one hand, might be less zealous in Romilius' behalf and might commit no irregularities in connexion with the voting when they reflected that the condemned man would be punished with nothing more than a fine, and that the plebeians, on their side, might be the more eager for punishment when they were not going to deprive an ex-consul of either his life or his country. A few days after the condemnation of Romilius, Veturius was likewise condemned ; his punishment was also set down in the indictment as a fine, one-half as much again as the other.

L. As they thought about these trials the consuls then in office were in no little fear, and they took good care to avoid suffering the same fate at the hands of the populace after the expiration of their consulship ; hence they no longer concealed their purposes but openly directed all their measures in the interest of the populace. First, then, they got a law ratified by the centuriate assembly permitting all the magistrates to fine any persons who were guilty of disrespectful conduct or illegal attempts against their authority. For until then none but the consuls pos-

¹ This is Kiessling's emendation : the MSS. read "citizens."

² i.e. set down the penalty he did in the indictment.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

2 τὸ μέντοι τίμημα οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς¹ ζημιοῦσιν, ὅπόσον
 εἶναι δεῖ, κατέλιπον, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀξίαν ὥρισαν,
 μέγιστον ἀποδείξαντες ὄρον ζημίας δύο βοῦς² καὶ
 τριάκοντα πρόβατα. καὶ οὗτος ὁ νόμος ἔχει πολ-
 3 λοῦ διέμεινεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων φυλαττόμενος. ἐπειτα
 περὶ τῶν νόμων οὓς ἐσπούδαζον οἱ δῆμαρχοι κοι-
 νοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις γράφειν³ καὶ εἰς ἄπαντα
 χρόνον φυλαχθησομένους διάγνωσιν ἀπέδωκαν τῇ
 βουλῇ. ἐλέχθησαν μὲν οὖν πολλοί τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν
 κρατίστων ἀνδρῶν εἰς ἀμφότερα καὶ τὸ συγχωρεῖν
 καὶ τὸ κωλύειν φέροντες λόγοι, ἐνίκα δ' ἡ τὰ δημο-
 τικώτερα πρὸ τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν εἰσάγουσα Τίτου
 Ῥωμιλίου γνώμη, παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων δόξαν τῶν
 4 τε πατρικίων καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν γενομένη. οἵ μὲν
 γὰρ ὑπελάμβανον πάντα τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς δημοτικοῖς
 φρονήσειν τε καὶ λέξειν τὸν ἄνδρα νεωστὶ τὴν ἐν
 τῷ δῆμῳ δίκην ἔαλωκότα· ὁ δ' ἀναστὰς ἐπειδὴ
 προσῆκεν αὐτῷ⁴ γνώμην ἐρωτηθέντι κατὰ τὴν ἑα-
 τοῦ τάξιν ἀποκρίνασθαι (ἥν δὲ ἐν τοῖς διὰ μέσου
 κατά τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ ἡλικίαν) ἔλεξεν.

LI. ““Α μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πέπονθα, ὡ βουλῇ,
 καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὔνοίας
 ἔνεκα,⁵ φορτικὸς ἂν εἴην⁶ ἐν εἰδόσιν⁷ ἀκριβῶς λέ-
 γων· μνήμην δὲ αὐτῶν ποιοῦμαι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου
 ἔνεκεν,⁸ ἵν’ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ κολακείᾳ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ
 ἐπιτρέψας ἔχθροῦ μοι ὅντος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίσ-

¹ ἐπὶ τοῖς Kiessling, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς Reiske : ἐπ' αὐτοῖς AB.

² Jacoby : βόας O.

³ γράφειν AB : γραφῆναι R.

⁴ Sylburg : ἔαυτῷ O. ⁵ ἔνεκα B : χάριν A.

⁶ εἴην B : εἴην ἔγωγε R(?)

⁷ εἰδόσιν Hudson : εἰδόσιν ὑμῖν O.

⁸ ἔνεκεν Bb : ἔνεκα R.

sessed this power. They did not leave the amount of the fine, however, to the discretion of those who should impose it, but limited the sum themselves, making the maximum fine two oxen and thirty sheep. This law long continued in force among the Romans. In the next place, they referred to the consideration of the senate the laws which the tribunes pressed to have drawn up, that should bind all the Romans alike and be observed forever. Many speeches were made on both sides by the best men, some tending to persuade the senate to grant the request and some to oppose it. But the opinion that prevailed was that of Titus Romilius, which supported the interest of the populace against that of the oligarchy, contrary to the expectation of everybody, both patricians and plebeians. For they supposed that a man who had recently been condemned by the populace would both think and say everything that was opposed to the plebeians. But he, when it was the proper time for him to speak, that is, when he was called upon to deliver his opinion in his turn—he was of the middle rank in point of both dignity and age—rose up and said :

LI. “ I should be wearisome to you, senators, if I related what I have suffered at the hands of the populace and showed that it is not because of any wrongdoing on my part but because of my attachment to you, when you yourselves know the facts so well. I am forced, however, to mention these matters in order that you may know that in what I am going to say I am not condescending to flattery of the populace, which is hostile to me, but stating from the best of motives what is to the advantage of the common-

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

του τὰ συμφέροντα ἔρω. θαυμάσῃ δὲ μηθεὶς εἰ πρότερόν τε πολλάκις καὶ ἡνίκα υπατος ἦν τῆς ἑτέρας¹ προαιρέσεως γενόμενος νῦν ἐξαίφνης μεταβέβλημαι· μηδὲ ὑπολάβητε δυεῖν θάτερον ἢ τότε βεβουλεῦσθαι με κακῶς ἢ νῦν ἀνατίθεσθαι τὰ δόξαντα οὐκ ὄρθως. ἐγὼ γάρ, ὁ βουλή, ὃσον μὲν χρόνον τὰ ὑμέτερα ἴσχυρὰ ἥγούμην, ὥσπερ ἐχρῆν ἀριστοκρατίαν αὐξῶν περιεφρόνον τὸ δημοτικόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ σωφρονισθεὶς κακοῖς μετὰ μεγάλων μισθῶν ἔμαθον ὅτι ἔλαττον ὑμῶν ἔστι τοῦ βουλομένου τὸ δυνάμενον, καὶ πολλοὺς ἥδη τὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀγῶνα αἱρομένους² περιείδετε ἀναρπασθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις εἰξαντες,
 3 οὐκέθ' ὅμοια ἔγνωκα. ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν μάλιστα μὲν³ μήτ' ἐμαυτῷ συμβῆναι μήτε τῷ συνάρχοντί μου ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς ἄπαντες ἥμuin⁴ συμπαθεῖτε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ μὲν καθ' ἡμᾶς τέλος ἔχει, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔξεστιν ἐπανορθώσασθαι καὶ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ταῦτα⁵ ἑτέρους προϊδέσθαι, καὶ κοινῇ καὶ καθ' ἕνα ἔκαστον ἵδιᾳ τὰ παρόντα εὐ τίθεσθαι παρακαλῶ. κράτιστα γὰρ οἰκεῖται πόλις ἡ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα μεθαρμοττομένη, καὶ συμβούλων ἄριστος ὁ μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἵδιαν ἔχθραν ἢ χάριν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον ἀποδεικνύμενος γνώμην· βουλεύονταί τ' ἄριστα περὶ τῶν μελλόντων οἱ παραδείγματα ποιούμενοι τὰ
 4 γεγονότα τῶν ἐσομένων. ὑμῖν δ', ὁ βουλή, ὁσάκις ἐνέστη τις ἀμφισβήτησις καὶ φιλονεικία πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἀεί τι μειονεκτεῖν ἐξεγένετο, τὸ μὲν ἀκούειν⁶

¹ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου . . . τῆς ἑτέρας om. A.

² αἱρομένους Jacoby, ἀραμένους Sylburg : αἱρουμένους O.

³ μὲν added by Cobet.

⁴ ἥμuin B : ὑμεῖς A.

⁵ ταῦτα R : ταῦτα AB.

wealth. Let no one wonder, if I, who was of a different opinion both earlier upon many occasions and when I was consul, have now suddenly changed ; and do not imagine either that my sentiments were then ill grounded or that I am now altering them without good reason. For as long as I thought your party strong, senators, I exalted the aristocracy, as was my duty, and despised the plebeians ; but having been chastened by my own misfortunes and having learned at great cost that your power is less than your will and that, yielding to necessity, you have already permitted many who undertook the struggle in your behalf to be snatched away to destruction by the populace, I no longer entertain the same sentiments. I could have wished that, if possible, those misfortunes for which you all show your sympathy with us had not happened either to myself or to my colleague ; but since our misadventure is over and you have it in your power to correct what lies in the future and to see to it that others do not suffer the same misfortunes, I urge you, both all in common and each one by himself, to make good use of the present situation. For that state is best governed which adapts itself to circumstances, and that man is the best counsellor who expresses his opinion without regard to personal enmity or favour but with a view to the public advantage ; and those persons deliberate best concerning the future who take past events as examples of those that are to come. As for you, senators, it has happened that whenever a dispute or contention has arisen with the populace you have always come off at a disadvantage, sometimes having evil spoken of

⁶ τὸ μὲν ἀκούειν (the three words later erased) B : τὰ μὲν ἀκούειν A.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

κακῶς,¹ τὸ δ'² εἰς ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν θανάτους τε καὶ ὑβρεῖς καὶ ἔκβολὰς ζημιωθῆναι. καίτοι τί γένοιτ' ἂν ἀτύχημα πόλει μεῦζον ἢ τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἀνδρῶν περικόπτεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα οὐ σὺν δίκῃ; ὡν³ ὑμῖν φείδεσθαι παραινῶ καὶ μήτε τοὺς νῦν ἀρχοντας προβαλόντας⁴ εἰς κίνδυνον πρόδηλον ἔπειτα ἐγκαταλιπόντας⁵ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς μετανοεῖν μήτε τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ οὐ τι καὶ μικρὸν ὅφελος τῷ ποινῷ. κεφάλαιον δ' ἐστὶν ὧν ὑμῖν παραινῶ, πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, τοὺς δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας, οἵτινες αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς κρατίστους νόμους καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀρμόττοντας βίοις οἴσουσι δεῦρο. ἀφικομένων δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς τότε ὑπάτους προθεῖναι τῇ βουλῇ σκοπεῦν τίνας ἐλέσθαι δεήσει νομοθέτας καὶ ἥντινα ἔξοντας ἀρχὴν καὶ χρόνον ὅσον καὶ τάλλα, ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ φαίνηται συνοίσειν, στασιάζειν δὲ μηκέτι πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν μηδ' ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις ἀναιρεῖσθαι συμφοράς, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ νόμων φιλονεικοῦντας οἱ κάνει μηθὲν ἄλλο τὴν γέ τοι δόξαν τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἔχουσιν εὐπρεπῆ.”

LII. Τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Ῥωμιλίου οἱ τε ὑπάτοι συνελαμβάνοντο τῆς γνώμης ἀμφότεροι πολλὰ καὶ ἐκ παρασκευῆς συγκείμενα διεξιόντες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν συχνοί, καὶ ἐγένοντο πλείους οἱ ταύτη προστιθέμενοι τῇ γνώμῃ. μέλλοντο δὲ γράφεσθαι τοῦ προβουλεύματος ἀναστὰς ὁ δῆμαρχος Σίκκιος ὁ τῷ Ῥωμιλίῳ προθεὶς⁶ τὴν δίκην

¹ κακῶς added by Jacoby.

² τὸ δ' Jacoby : τὰ δὲ Α, καὶ Β.

³ σὺν δίκῃ ; ὡν Reiske : συνδικῶν Ο.

you and sometimes being punished by the death, the abuse and the banishment of illustrious men. And yet what greater misfortune could happen to a state than to have its best men lopped off, and that undeservedly? I advise you to spare these men and not to have to repent of first exposing to manifest danger and then deserting in the moment of peril either the present magistrates or anyone else who is of the slightest value to the commonwealth. The substance of my advice is that you choose ambassadors and send some of them to the Greek cities in Italy and others to Athens, to ask the Greeks for their best laws and such as are most suited to our ways of life, and then to bring these laws here. And when they return, that the consuls then in office shall propose for the consideration of the senate what men to choose as lawgivers, what magistracy they shall hold and for how long a time, and to determine everything else in such a manner as they shall think expedient; and that you contend no longer with the plebeians nor add calamities to your calamities, particularly by quarrelling over laws which, if nothing else, have at least a respectable reputation for dignity.”

LII. After Romilius had spoken to this effect, both consuls supported his opinion in long and carefully prepared speeches, and so did many other senators; and those who espoused this opinion were in the majority. When the preliminary decree was about to be drawn up, the tribune Siccius, who had brought Romilius to trial, rising up, made a long

⁴ προβαλόντας Bb : προβάλλοντας ABA.

⁵ ἐγκαταλιπόντας Bb : ἐγκαταλείποντας ABA.

⁶ προθεὶς R : προσθεὶς AB, Jacoby.

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DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πολὺν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διῆλθε λόγον ἐπαινῶν τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ μὴ τὰ ἴδια ἔχθη κρείττονα ἡγεῖσθαι¹ τῶν κοινῆ χρησίμων, ἀλλ’ ἀπ’ ὄρθης γνώμης τὰ συμφέροντα ἀποδείξασθαι².

3 “'Αινθ' ὅν,” ἔφη, “ταύτην αὐτῷ ἀποδίδωμι τιμὴν καὶ χάριν· ἀφίμη τῶν ἐκτισμάτων ἐπὶ τῇ δίκῃ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν διαλλάττομαι· νικᾷ γὰρ ἡμᾶς χρηστὸς ὁν.” τὸ δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δήμαρχοι παριόντες ὠμολόγουν. οὐ μὴν ὅ γε 'Ρωμίλιος ὑπέμεινε ταύτην λαβεῖν τὴν χάριν, ἀλλ’ ἐπαινέσας τοὺς δημάρχους τῆς προθυμίας ἀποδώσειν ἔφη τὴν καταδίκην. ἵερὰν γὰρ ἥδη τῶν θεῶν εἶναι, καὶ οὕτε δίκαια οὕτε ὅσια ποιεῖν ἀν³ ἀποστερῶν τοὺς θεοὺς ἢ δίδωσιν

4 αὐτοῦς ὁ νόμος· καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτως. γραφέντος δὲ τοῦ προβούλεύματος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ’ ἐπικυρώσαντος τοῦ δήμου πρέσβεις ἀπεδείχθησαν οἱ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμους ληφόμενοι, Σπόριος Ποστόμιος καὶ Σερούιος⁴ Σολπίκιος καὶ Αὖλος Μάλλιος· οὓς τριήρεις τε παρεσκευάσθησαν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ ἄλλος κόσμος εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποχρών. καὶ τὸ ἔτος ἐτελεύτα.

LIII. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὄγδοηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Λύκος Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης,⁵ ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Χαιρεφάνους, ἐτῶν τριακοσίων ἐκπεπληρωμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ 'Ρώμης συνοικισμοῦ, Ποπλίου Ὁρατίου καὶ Σέξτου Κοϊντιλίου διαδεδεγμένων⁶ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχήν, λοιμικὴ

¹ Sylburg : γίνεσθαι O, Jacoby.

² ἀποδείξασθαι A : ὑποδείξασθαι B, ἐπιδείξασθαι R.

³ ποιεῖν ἀν Hertlein, ἀν ποιεῖν Cobet : ποιεῖν O, Jacoby.

⁴ Sylburg : σερούιλιος AB.

⁵ λαρίσης Ba : λαρίσσης ABB.

⁶ διαδεδεγμένων R : δεδεγμένων Bb.

speech in his behalf, praising him for changing his opinion and for not preferring his private grudges to the public good, but delivering with sincerity the advice that was advantageous. “ In consideration of which,” he said, “ I offer him this honour and this favour : I remit the fine imposed on him at the trial and reconcile myself with him for the future. For he has overcome us by his probity.” The rest of the tribunes came forward and made the same agreement. Romilius, however, would not consent to accept this favour, but having thanked the tribunes for their goodwill, he said he would pay the fine, because it was already consecrated to the gods and he should be doing something unjust and unholy if he deprived the gods of what the law gives them. And he acted accordingly. The preliminary decree having been drawn up and afterwards confirmed by the populace, the ambassadors who were to get the laws from the Greeks were chosen, namely, Spurius Postumius, Servius Sulpicius and Aulus Manlius ; and they were furnished with triremes at the public expense and with such other appointments as were sufficient to display the dignity of the Roman empire. And thus the year ended.

LIII. In the eighty-second Olympiad ¹ (the one at which Lycus of Larissa in Thessaly won the foot-race), Chaerephanes being archon at Athens, when three hundred years were completed since the founding of Rome, and Publius Horatius and Sextus Quintilius had succeeded to the consulship, Rome was afflicted

¹ Cf. Livy iii. 32, 1-4. The year was 451. Livy gives the name of the first consul as P. Curiatius (Curatius in most MSS.).

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

νόσος εἰς τὴν Ἀράμην κατέσκηψε μεγίστη τῶν ἐκ
 τοῦ προτέρου¹ χρόνου μνημονευομένων· ὑφ' ἦς οἱ
 μὲν θεράποντες ὀλίγου ἐδέησαν πάντες² ἀπολέσθαι,
 τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἡμίσεις μάλιστα
 διεφθάρησαν, οὕτε τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀρκούντων ἔτι³ βοη-
 θεῖν τοῖς καμάτοις οὕτε οἰκείων ἥ φίλων τάναγκαῖα
 2 ὑπῆρετούντων. οἵ γὰρ ἐπικουρεῦν ταῖς ἑτέρων βου-
 λόμενοι συμφοραῖς ἀπτόμενοί τε καματηρῶν σωμά-
 των καὶ συνδιαιτώμενοι τὰς αὐτὰς ἐκείνοις νόσους
 μετελάμβανον, ὥστε πολλὰς οἰκίας ἐξερημωθῆναι
 δι' ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιμελησομένων. ἦν τε οὐκ ἐλά-
 χιστον τῶν κακῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῦ μὴ ταχέως
 λωφῆσαι τὴν νόσον αἴτιον τὸ περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τῶν
 3 νεκρῶν γινόμενον. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ ὑπό τε αἰ-
 σχύνης καὶ εὐπορίας⁴ τῶν πρὸς τὰς ταφὰς ἐπιτη-
 δείων ἔκαιον τε καὶ γῇ παρεδίδοσαν τοὺς νεκρούς,
 τελευτῶντες δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ὀλιγωρίας τοῦ καλοῦ,
 οἵ δὲ τάπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔχοντες πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν
 τοῖς ὑπονόμοις⁵ τῶν στενωπῶν φέροντες ἐρρίπτουν
 τῶν ἀπογενομένων,⁶ πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλείους εἰς τὸν
 ποταμὸν ἐνέβαλλον· ἀφ' ὧν τὰ μέγιστα ἐκαούντο.
 4 ἐκκυμαινομένων γὰρ⁷ πρὸς τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰς
 ἥιόνας τῶν σωμάτων βαρεῖα καὶ δυσώδης προσ-
 πίπτουσα καὶ τοῖς ἔτι ἐρρωμένοις ἥ τοῦ πνεύματος
 ἀποφορὰ ταχείας ἔφερε τοῖς σώμασι τὰς τροπάς,
 πίνεσθαι τε οὐκέτι χρηστὸν ἦν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ποτα-
 μοῦ κομισθὲν ὕδωρ, τὰ μὲν ἀτοπίᾳ τῆς ὁσμῆς, τὰ
 δὲ τῷ πονηρᾶς τὰς ἀναδόσεις ποιεῦν τῆς τροφῆς.

¹ προτέρου R : πρότερον B.

² Jacoby : ἀπαντες O.

³ ἔτι B : εἰς τὸ R.

⁴ Sylburg : ἀπορίας O.

⁵ εἰς τοὺς ὑπονόμους Portus, who also placed τῶν ἀπογενο-
μένων after πολλοὺς μὲν.

with a pestilence more severe than any of those recorded from past time. Almost all the slaves were carried off by it and about one half of the citizens, as neither the physicians were able any longer to alleviate their sufferings nor did their servants and friends supply them with the necessaries. For those who were willing to relieve the calamities of others, by touching the bodies of the diseased and continuing with them, contracted the same diseases, with the result that many entire households perished for want of people to attend the sick. Not the least of the evils the city suffered, and the reason why the pestilence did not quickly abate, was the way in which they cast out the dead bodies. For though at first, both from a sense of shame and because of the plenty they had of everything necessary for burials, they burned the bodies and committed them to the earth, at the last, either through a disregard of decency or from a lack of the necessary equipment, they threw many of the dead into the sewers under the streets and cast far more of them into the river ; and from these they received the most harm. For when the bodies were cast up by the waves upon the banks and beaches, a grievous and terrible stench, carried by the wind, smote those also who were still in health and produced a quick change in their bodies ; and the water brought from the river was no longer fit to drink, partly because of its vile odour and partly by causing

⁶ Kiessling : ἀπογνωμένων O.

⁷ ἐκκυμανομένων γὰρ placed here by Cobet : after ἡϊόνας in the MSS. Jacoby retained the traditional order of words, punctuating after ἡϊόνας. Post, likewise keeping the order unchanged, would punctuate after ἐκκυμανομένων, and read ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν σωμάτων.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

5 καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ δεινὰ ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν· καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ γεωργὸς ἐπόνησεν ὅχλος ἀναπιμπλάμενος, καὶ προβάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τετραπόδων ἄμα διαιτωμένων, τῆς νόσου. ὅσον μὲν οὖν χρόνον τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐλπίδος τι ὑπῆν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ σφίσιν ἐπικουρήσοντος, ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τε θυσίας καὶ καθαρμοὺς ἔτραποντο· καὶ πολλὰ ἐνεωτερίσθη· Ἦρωμαίοις οὐκ ὅντα ἐν ἔθει περὶ τὰς
 6 τιμὰς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιτηδεύματα οὐκ εὑπρεπῆ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπέγνωσαν οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου γινομένην οὐδ' ἔλεον, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα λειτουργίας ἀπέστησαν. ἐν ταύῃ τῇ συμφορᾷ τῶν τε ὑπάτων ἄτερος ἀποθνήσκει, Σέξτος Κοῦντίλιος,¹ καὶ ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπατος Σπόριος Φούριος, καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τέτταρες, τῶν
 7 τε βουλευτῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί. ἐπεβάλοντο μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ νόσῳ τῆς πόλεως οὕσης στρατὸν ἐξάγειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Αἰκανοὶ καὶ διεπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς τὰλλα ἔθνη ὅσα Ἦρωμαίοις πολέμια ἦν παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. οὐ μὴν ἔφθασάν γε προαγαγεῖν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. ἔτι γὰρ αὐτῶν παρασκευαζομένων ἡ αὐτὴ νόσος κατέσκηψεν εἰς τὰς πόλεις.
 8 διῆλθε δ' οὐ μόνον τὴν Αἰκανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Οὐολούσκων καὶ τὴν Σαβίνων γῆν, καὶ σφόδρα ἐκάκωσε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνέβη καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀγεώργητον ἀφεθεῖσαν λιμὸν ἐπὶ τῷ λοιμῷ συνάψαι. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων οὐδὲν ἐπράχθη Ἦρωμαίοις διὰ τὰς νόσους οὔτε πολεμικὸν οὔτε πολιτικὸν εἰς ἴστορίας ἀφήγησιν ἐλθεῖν ἄξιον.

LIV. Εἰς δὲ τούπιὸν ἔτος ὑπατοι μὲν ἀπεδείχ-

¹ Sylburg : κόιντος Α, κούντιος Β.

indigestion. These calamities occurred not only in the city, but in the country as well ; in particular, the husbandmen were infected with the contagion, since they were constantly with their sheep and the other animals. As long as most people had any hopes that Heaven would assist them, they all had recourse to sacrifices and expiations ; and many innovations were then made by the Romans and unseemly practices not customary with them were introduced into the worship of the gods. But when they found that the gods showed no regard or compassion for them, they abandoned even the observance of religious rites. During this calamity Sextus Quintilius, one of the consuls, died ; also Spurius Furius, who had been appointed to succeed him, and likewise four of the tribunes and many worthy senators. While the city was afflicted by the pestilence, the Aequians undertook to lead out an army against the Romans ; and they sent envoys to all the other nations that were hostile to the Romans, urging them to make war. But they did not have time to lead their forces out of their cities ; for while they were still making their preparations, the same pestilence fell upon their cities. It spread not only over the country of the Aequians, but also over those of the Volscians and the Sabines, and grievously afflicted the inhabitants. In consequence, the land was left uncultivated and famine was added to the plague. Under these consuls, then, by reason of the pestilence nothing was done by the Romans, either in war or at home, worthy of being recorded in history.

LIV. For the following year¹ Lucius Menenius

¹ For chaps. 54-56 cf. Livy iii. 32, 5-33, 6.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

θησαν Λεύκιος Μενήνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Σήστιος¹. ἡ δὲ νόσος εἰς τέλος ἐλώφησε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο θυσίαι τε χαριστήριοι θεοῖς ἐπετελοῦντο δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐπιφανεῖς λαμπρᾶις πάνυ χορηγούμενοι δαπάναις, ἐν εὐπαθείαις τε καὶ θαλίαις ἡ πόλις ἦν ὥσπερ εἰκός· καὶ πᾶς ὁ χειμέριος χρόνος ἀμφὶ 2 ταῦτα ἔδαπανήθη. ἀρχομένου δ' ἕαρος σῆτός τε πολὺς καὶ² ἐκ πολλῶν ἥχθη³ χωρίων, ὁ μὲν πλείων δημοσίᾳ συνωνηθείς, ὁ δέ τις καὶ ὑπ' ἴδιωτῶν ἐμπόρων κομιζόμενος. ἔκαμνε γὰρ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν⁴ τῇ σπάνει τῆς τροφῆς ὁ λαὸς χέρσου τῆς γῆς ἀφειμένης διὰ τὰς νόσους καὶ τὸν ὅλεθρον τῶν γεωργῶν.

3 'Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ καιρῷ παρεγένοντο ἀπό τ' Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλοῖς Ἐλληνίδων πόλεων οἱ πρέσβεις φέροντες τοὺς νόμους. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσῆσαν οἱ δήμαρχοι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἀξιοῦντες ἀποδεῖξαι κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς τοὺς νομοθέτας. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅτῳ ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάξειαν τρόπῳ προσκαθημένους καὶ λιπαροῦντας, ἀχθόμενοι τῷ πράγματι καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς⁵ καταλῦσαι τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν, πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῆ προύβαλοντο, λέγοντες ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι τὸν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων καιρόν, καὶ δέον⁶ αὐτοὺς 4 τοὺς⁷ ὑπάτους πρῶτον ἀποδεῖξαι, ποιήσειν⁸ τοῦτ' οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἀποδειχθέντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, μετ' ἐκείνων ἀνοίσειν⁹ τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὴν περὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν διάγνωσιν. συγχωροῦντων δὲ τῶν δημάρχων προθέντες ἀρχαιρέσια πολλῷ τάχιον ἡ τοῖς

¹ σήστιος Bb : σίκκιος A.

² καὶ B : om. R.

³ κατήχθη Kiessling.

⁴ ἐπὶ Kiessling.

⁵ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς B : om. R.

and Publius Sestius were chosen consuls ; and the pestilence finally ceased. After that public sacrifices of thanksgiving were performed to the gods and magnificent games celebrated at great expense ; and the people were engaged in rejoicings and festivals, as may be imagined. Indeed the whole winter season was thus spent. In the beginning of spring a large quantity of corn was brought in from many places ; most of it was purchased with the public money, but some was imported by private merchants. For not least of the people's hardships was the dearth of provisions, the land having lain uncultivated by reason of the pestilence and the death of the husbandmen.

At the same time the ambassadors arrived from Athens and the Greek cities in Italy, bringing with them the laws. Thereupon the tribunes went to the consuls and asked them to appoint the lawgivers pursuant to the senate's decree. The consuls did not know how to get rid of their solicitations and importunities, but as they disliked the business and were unwilling for the aristocracy to be overthrown during their consulship, they resorted to a specious excuse, saying that the time for the election of magistrates was at hand and, as it was their duty first to name the new consuls, they would do so soon, and when these were appointed, they would in conjunction with them refer the matter of the lawgivers to the senate for its consideration. When the tribunes consented to this, they appointed the election much

⁶ δεῦν Kiessling.

⁷ τοὺς Α : om. R.

⁸ ποιήσειν Cary, ποιήσεων δὲ Reiske, ποιῆσαι δὲ Jacoby : ποιήσεται δὲ Α, ποιῆσαι τε Β.

⁹ ἔλεγον before ἀνοίσειν deleted by Vassis.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

προτέρους ἔθος ἦν ὑπάτους ἀπέδειξαν "Αππιον
 Κλαύδιον καὶ Τίτον Γενύκιον,¹ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
 πᾶσαν ἀποθέμενοι τὴν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν φροντίδα,
 ὡς ἔτέρους ἥδη δέον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σκοπεῖν, οὐδὲν
 ἔτι τοῖς δημάρχοις προσεῖχον, ἀλλὰ διακλέψαι τὸν
 δ λοιπὸν χρόνον τῆς ὑπατείας διενοοῦντο. ἔτυχε δὲ
 τὸν ἔτερον αὐτῶν Μενήνιον ἀρρωστία τις κατα-
 λαβοῦσα χρόνιος. ἥδη δέ τινες ἔφασαν ὑπὸ λύπης
 καὶ ἀθυμίας ἐμπεσοῦσαν² τῷ ἀνδρὶ τηκεδόνα δυσ-
 απάλλακτον ἐργάσασθαι νόσον. ταύτην δὲ προσ-
 λαβὼν τὴν πρόφασιν ὁ Σήστιος ὡς οὐδὲν οἶστος τ'
 ὥν³ πράττειν μόνος ἀπεωθεῖτο τὰς τῶν δημάρχων
 δεήσεις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς νέους ἄρχοντας ἥξιον τρέπε-
 θαι. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι πράττωσιν⁴ ἔτερον,
 ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν "Αππιον οὕπω τὴν ἔξουσίαν
 παρειληφότας ἡναγκάζοντο καταφεύγειν, τὰ μὲν ἐν
 ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις δεόμενοι, τὰ δὲ κατὰ μόνας συν-
 τυγχάνοντες⁵. καὶ τέλος ἔξειργάσαντο τοὺς ἄνδρας
 μεγάλας ὑποτείνοντες ἐλπίδας αὐτοῖς, εἰ τὰ τοῦ
 δήμου πράγματα ἔλοιντο, τιμῆς καὶ δυναστείας.
 7 εἰσῆλθε γάρ τις τὸν "Αππιον ἐπιθυμία ξένην ἀρχὴν
 περιβαλέσθαι καὶ νόμους καταστήσασθαι τῇ πατρίδι,
 ὅμονοίας τε καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ τοῦ μίαν ἄπαντας
 ἥγεισθαι τὴν πόλιν ἄρξαι τοῖς συμπολιτευομένοις.
 οὐ μέντοι καὶ διέμεινέ γε χρηστὸς ἀρχῆς κοσμηθεὶς
 μεγάλῃ, ἀλλ' ἔξεπεσε τελευτῶν εἰς φιλαρχίαν
 ἀπαραχώρητον ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἔξουσίας διαφθαρεὶς

¹ Λεύκιον after Τίτον Γενύκιον deleted by Lapus.

² Sylburg : ἐμπεσούσης Ο, Jacoby.

³ Reiske : ἦν Ο, Jacoby.

⁴ Krüger, Cobet : πράττουσιν Ο.

⁵ συντυγχάνοντες AB : ἐντυγχάνοντες R.

earlier than had been the custom with past elections, and nominated Appius Claudius and Titus Genucius for consuls ; then, laying aside all thought for the public business, as if it were now the concern of others, they no longer paid any heed to the tribunes, but determined to pass the remaining time of their consulship in evasion of their duty. It chanced that one of them, Menenius, was seized with a chronic illness ; indeed, some said that a wasting disease, which had come upon him because of grief and despondency, had made his malady hard to be cured. Sestius, availing himself of this additional excuse and pretending that he could do nothing alone, kept rejecting the pleas of the tribunes and advising them to apply to the new consuls. Thus the tribunes, since there was nothing else they could do, were forced to have recourse to Appius and his colleague, who had not yet entered upon their magistracy, and would now plead with them in the meetings of the assembly and now in private conferences. And at last they overcame these men by holding out to them great hopes of honour and power if they would espouse the cause of the populace. For Appius was seized with a desire to be invested with an alien magistracy, to establish laws for the fatherland and to set an example to his fellow citizens of harmony and peace and the recognition by them all of the unity of the commonwealth. Nevertheless, when he had been honoured with this great magistracy, he did not preserve his probity but, corrupted by the greatness of his authority, succumbed to an irresistible passion for holding office and came very near to

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

καὶ ὀλίγου ἐδέησεν ἐπὶ τυραννίδα ἐλάσαι. περὶ ὧν
κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον διαλέξομαι καιρόν.

LV. Τότε δ' οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ταῦτα βου-
λευσάμενος καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα πείσας, ἐπειδὴ
πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκάλεσαν οἱ
δήμαρχοι, παρελθὼν πολλοὺς καὶ φιλανθρώπους
διεξῆλθε λόγους· κεφάλαια δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς δημηγορίας
τοιάδε ἦν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀποδειχθῆναι τοὺς νομοθέτας¹
καὶ παύσασθαι στασιάζοντας τοὺς πολίτας ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἵσων αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ συνάρχοντι παντὸς²
μάλιστα δοκεῖ, καὶ ἀποφαίνονται γνώμην φανεράν.
τοῦ δ' ἀποδεῖξαι τοὺς νομοθέτας αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδεμίαν
ἔχουσιν ἔξουσίαν οὕπω παρειληφότες τὴν ἀρχήν,
τοῖς δὲ περὶ Μενήνιον ὑπάτοις οὐχ ὥσπεις ἐναντιώ-
σονται πράσσουσι τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ
2 συνεργήσουσι καὶ πολλὴν εἴσονται χάριν. ἐὰν δ'
ἀναδύωνται σκῆψιν προβαλλόμενοι τὴν νέαν³ ἀρχήν,
ώς οὐκ ἔξὸν αὐτοῖς ἐτέρους ἄρχοντας ὑπατικὴν
ἔξουσίαν παραληφομένους ἀποδεικνύειν νέων⁴ ηδη
κεκυρωμένων ὑπάτων, οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν αὐτοῖς τὸ
καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔσεσθαι. ἐκόντες γὰρ ἀποστήσεσθαι
τῆς ὑπατείας⁵ τοῖς ἀνθ' αὐτῶν αἱρεθησομένοις, ἐὰν
3 καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ταῦτα δοκῇ. ἐπαινοῦντος δὲ τοῦ
δήμου⁶ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ πάντων
κατὰ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ὡσαμένων, ἀναγκασ-
θεὶς ὁ Σήστιος τὴν βουλὴν συναγαγεῖν μόνος,
ἐπειδὴ ὁ Μενήνιος ἀδύνατος ἦν παρεῖναι διὰ τὴν
νόσον, προοῦθηκεν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων λέγειν. ἐλέχθη-

¹ Sylburg : νόμους O, Jacoby.

² παντὸς om. B. ³ νέαν B : om. R.

⁴ νέων Kiessling : ήμῶν O, Jacoby, om. Kayser.

⁵ τῆς ὑπατείας B : om. R.

running into tyranny ; all which I shall relate at the proper time.

LV. At any rate, at the time in question he took this resolution with the best of motives and prevailed upon his colleague to do the same ; and since the tribunes repeatedly invited him to appear before the assembly, he came forward and spoke many words of goodwill. The substance of his speech was as follows : That both he and his colleague held it to be a matter of the first importance that the lawgivers should be appointed and that the citizens should cease quarrelling over equal rights ; and they were declaring their opinion openly. But for the appointing of the lawgivers they themselves had no authority, since they had not yet entered upon their magistracy ; however, not only would they not oppose Menenius and his colleague in carrying out the decree of the senate, but they would actually assist them and be very grateful to them. If the others, however, should decline to carry out the decree, using the new magistracy as an excuse, claiming that it was not lawful for them, now that new consuls had been confirmed, to create other magistrates who would receive consular power, they said that so far as they themselves were concerned there would be nothing to prevent the present consuls from acting. For they would willingly resign the consulship to such magistrates as should be appointed in their stead, provided the senate too should approve of it. The populace praising them for their goodwill and rushing in a body to the senate-house, Sestius was forced to assemble the senate alone, Menenius being unable to attend by reason of his illness, and proposed to them the consideration of the laws.

⁶ δῆμον R : δῆμου καὶ B, Jacoby.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

σαν μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε πολλοὶ ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων λόγοι,
τῶν τε παραινούντων κατὰ νόμους πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ
τῶν ἀξιούντων τοὺς πατρίους φυλάττειν ἔθισμούς.
 4 ἐνίκα δὲ ἡ τῶν εἰς νέωτα μελλόντων ὑπατεύειν
γνώμη, ἦν "Αππιος Κλαύδιος πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς
ἀπεφήνατο, ἄνδρας αἴρεθῆναι δέκα τοὺς ἐπιφανε-
στάτους ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς· τούτους δ' ἀρχειν εἰς
ἐνιαυτὸν ἀφ' ἧς ἀν ἀποδειχθῶσιν ἡμέρας, ἔξουσίαν
ἔχοντας ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἥν εἶχον
οἱ τε ὕπατοι καὶ ἔτι πρότερον¹ οἱ βασιλεῖς, τὰς τ'
ἄλλας ἀρχὰς πάσας καταλελύσθαι ἔως² ἀν οἱ δέκα
 5 μετέχωσι³ τῆς ἀρχῆς· τούτους δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκ τε
τῶν πατρίων ἔθῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων
οὓς ἐκόμισαν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐκλεξαμένους τὰ κρά-
τιστα καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει πρόσφορα νομοθετή-
σασθαι⁴· τὰ δὲ γραφέντα ὑπὸ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν, ἐὰν
η̄ τε βουλὴ δοκιμάσῃ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπιψηφίσῃ, κύρια
εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα εἶναι χρόνον, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ὅσαι
ἀν ὕστερον ἀποδειχθῶσι κατὰ τούτους⁵ τοὺς νό-
μους τὰ τε ἴδιωτικὰ συμβόλαια διαιρεῦν καὶ τὰ
δημόσια ἐπιτροπεύειν.

LVI. Τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα λαβόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι
προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἀναγνόντες ἐν τῷ
δήμῳ πολλοὺς ἐπαίνους τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ προ-
θέντος⁶ τὴν γνώμην Ἀππίου διεξῆλθον. ἐπεὶ δὲ
κατέλαβεν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων καιρός, ἐκκλησίαν
συναγαγόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τούς τ' ἀποδειχθέντας
ὑπάτους ἥκειν ἡξίουν ἐμπεδώσοντας τῷ δήμῳ τὰς

¹ Sylburg : πρῶτον O.

² ἔως R : τέως Ba (?), Jacoby.

³ μετέχωσι Cary : τύχωσι O, Jacoby.

⁴ νομοθετήσασθαι B : νομοθετήσεσθαι R, Jacoby.

Many speeches were made on this occasion also both by those who contended that the commonwealth ought to be governed by laws and by those who advised adhering to the customs of their ancestors. The motion that carried was made by the men who were to serve as consuls for the next year ; it was delivered by Appius Claudius, who was first called upon, and was as follows : That ten persons be chosen, the most distinguished members of the senate, and that these govern for a year from the day of their appointment, possessing the same authority over all the affairs of the commonwealth as the consuls and, before them, the kings had enjoyed ; that all the other magistracies be abrogated for as long a time as the decemvirs held office ; that these men select both from the Roman usages and from the Greek laws brought back by the ambassadors the best institutions and such as were suitable to the Roman commonwealth, and form them into a body of laws ; that the laws drawn up by the decemvirs, if approved by the senate and confirmed by the people, should be valid for all time, and that all future magistrates should determine private contracts and administer the affairs of the public according to these laws.

LVI. The tribunes, having received this decree, went to the assembly and after reading it before the populace, bestowed much praise upon the senate and upon Appius, who had proposed it. And when the time came for the election of magistrates, the tribunes called an assembly and asked the consuls-elect to come and fulfil their promises to the popu-

⁵ τούτους added by Kiessling.

⁶ Kiessling : θέντος O.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ὑποσχέσεις, κάκεῖνοι παρελθόντες ἔξωμόσαντο τὰς
 2 ὑπατείας. τούτους ὁ δῆμος ἐπαινῶν τε καὶ θαυ-
 μάζων διετέλει, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοὺς νομοθέτας ψηφο-
 φορεῖν ἔδει, πρώτους εἶλετο τῶν ἄλλων· καὶ
 ἀπεδείχθησαν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις ὑπὸ τῆς λοχίτιδος
 ἐκκλησίας "Αππιος μὲν Κλαύδιος καὶ Τίτος Γενύ-
 κιος,¹ οὓς ἔδει τούπιὸν² ἀρχειν ἔτος, Πόπλιος δὲ³
 Σήστιος ὁ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὑπατεύων, τρεῖς δὲ³
 οἱ κομίσαντες παρὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων τοὺς νόμους,
 Σπόριος⁴ Ποστόμιος καὶ Σερούιος⁵ Σολπίκιος καὶ
 Αῦλος Μάλλιος, εἰς δὲ τῶν ὑπατευσάντων τὸν
 παρελθόντα ἐνιαυτόν, Τίτος Ῥωμαῖος, ὁ τὴν ἐν
 τῷ δήμῳ δίκην Σικκίου κατηγορήσαντος ἀλούς,
 ἐπειδὴ γνώμης ἔδόκει ἄρξαι δημοτικῆς· ἐκ δὲ τῶν
 ἄλλων βουλευτῶν Γάιος Ἰούλιος καὶ Τίτος Οὐε-
 τούριος καὶ Πόπλιος Ὁράτιος, ἅπαντες ὑπατι-
 κοί· αἱ δὲ τῶν δημάρχων τε καὶ ἀγορανόμων καὶ
 ταμιῶν καὶ εἴ τινες ἦσαν ἄλλαι πάτριοι Ῥωμαίοις
 ἀρχαὶ κατελύθησαν.

LVII. Τῷ δ' ἔξῆς ἔτει παραλαβόντες οἱ νομο-
 θέται τὰ πράγματα πολιτείας κόσμον τοιόνδε τινὰ
 καθίστανται· εἰς μὲν αὐτῶν τὰς τε ράβδους καὶ τὰ
 λοιπὰ παράσημα τῆς ὑπατικῆς εἶχεν ἔξουσίας, ὃς
 βουλήν τε συνεκάλει καὶ δόγματα ἐπεκύρουν καὶ
 τάλλα ἐπραττεν ὅσα ἡγεμόνι προσῆκεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι
 συστέλλοντες ἐπὶ τὸ δημοτικώτερον τὸ τῆς ἔξου-
 σίας ἐπίφθονον ὀλίγω τινὶ διηγλαττον ὄφθηναι τῶν
 πολλῶν· εἰτ' αὖθις ἔτερος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξουσίαν

¹ Sylburg : τίτος λεύκιος γενύκιος AB.

² εἰς τούπιὸν Cobet, Jacoby.

³ δὲ Kiessling : τε O.

⁴ Σπόριος Sylburg : πόπλιος AB.

lace ; and they, appearing, resigned their magistracy. The populace kept praising and admiring them, and when they were to vote for lawgivers, made them their first choice. Those chosen at the election by the centuriate assembly were Appius Claudius and Titus Genucius, who were to have been consuls for the following year ; Publius Sestius, consul of that year ; the three who had brought the laws from the Greeks, Spurius Postumius, Servius Sulpicius and Aulus Manlius ; one of the consuls of the preceding year, Titus Romilius, the man who had been condemned when tried before the populace on a charge brought by Siccius and was now chosen because he was thought to have offered a motion favourable to the populace¹ ; and, from among the other senators, Gaius Julius, Titus Veturius and Publius Horatius, all ex-consuls. At the same time the offices of the tribunes, aediles, quaestors and any other traditional Roman magistrates were abrogated.

LVII. The next year² the lawgivers took over the administration of affairs and established a form of government of the following general description. One of them had the rods and the other insignia of the consular power, assembled the senate, certified its decrees, and performed all the other functions belonging to the head of the state ; while the others, by way of reducing the invidious character of their office to the more democratic level, differed in appearance but little from the mass of citizens. Then another of them in turn was vested with this authority,

¹ Cf. chaps. 50 f.

² For chaps. 57 f. cf. Livy iii. 33, 7–34, 11.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

καθίστατο, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ περινομῆς¹ ἐγίνετο παραλλὰξ ἐπ' ἐνιαυτόν,² ἑκάστου³ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαμβάνοντος εἰς συγκείμενόν τινα ἡμερῶν ἀριθμόν.
 2 ἄπαντες δ' ἔξ οὐθινοῦ καθεζόμενοι διήτων τὰ ἴδιωτικὰ⁴ συμβόλαια καὶ τὰ δημόσια, ὅπόσα πρός τε ὑπηκόους καὶ συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοιαστῶς ἀκροωμένους τῆς πόλεως ἐγκλήματα τυγχάνοι γινόμενα, μετὰ πάσης ἀνασκοποῦντες ἕκαστα ἐπι-
 3 εικείας τε καὶ δικαιοσύνης. ἐδόκει δὲ ἄριστα τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἡ 'Ρωμαίων πόλις ὑπὸ τῆς δεκαδαρχίας⁵ ἐπιτροπευθῆναι. μάλιστα δ' αὐτῶν ἐπηνεῖτο ἡ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πρόνοια καὶ πρὸς ἄπαν τὸ βίαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων ἀντίταξις· ἐλέχθη τε ὑπὸ πολλῶν⁶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι δεήσοι δήμου προστατῶν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχείων τῇ πόλει μιᾶς διοικούσης ἄπαντα ἡγεμονίας σώφρονος, ἥς ἀρχηγὸς "Αππιος
 4 εἶναι ἐδόκει. καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς δεκαδαρχίας ἔπαινον ἐκεῖνος ἐφέρετο παρὰ τοῦ δήμου. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἂ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔπραττεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου⁷ χρηστότητος ἐφερεν αὐτῷ δόκησιν, ἄλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἂ κατ' ἴδιαν ἐπιτηδεύων διετέλει, κατά τ' ἀσπασμοὺς καὶ προσαγορεύσεις φιλανθρώπους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τῶν πενήτων φιλοφρονήσεις.
 5 Οὗτοι οἱ δέκα ἄνδρες συγγράψαντες νόμους ἔκ τε τῶν 'Ελληνικῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀγράφων ἐθισμῶν προῦθηκαν ἐν δέκα δέλτοις τῷ βουλομένῳ σκοπεῖν, δεχόμενοι πᾶσαν ἐπανόρθωσιν

¹ περινομῆς Ο : περιτροπῆς Cobet, Jacoby.

² Jacoby : ἐνιαυτοῦ Α, αὐτοῦ Β.

³ ἑκάστου added by Reiske.

⁴ ἴδιωτικὰ Β : δημοτικὰ R. ⁵ Kiessling : δεκαρχίας Ο.

⁶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν Β : ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν Α.

⁷ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου Β : om. R.

and thus it went on in rotation for a year, each one in succession receiving the command for a certain number of days as agreed upon. But all of them sat from early morning arbitrating cases involving private and public contracts in which complaints might arise between citizens and the subjects and allies of the Romans and peoples of doubtful allegiance to Rome, examining each case with complete fairness and justice. That year the Roman commonwealth seemed to be exceedingly well governed by the decemvirs. Above all they were commended for their care of the plebeians and for opposing, in defence of the weaker parties, every kind of violence ; and it was said by many that the commonwealth would have no further need of champions of the populace or any of the other magistracies so long as a single wise leadership was directing all the affairs of the state. Of this régime Appius was looked upon as the head, and all the praise that belonged to the whole decemvirate was given by the populace to him. For he gained a reputation for probity not only by those things which he did in concert with his colleagues from the best motives, but much more by the manner in which he conducted himself personally, as in the matter of greetings, friendly conversation and other kindly courtesies toward the poor.

These decemvirs, having formed a body of laws both from those of the Greeks and from their own unwritten usages, set them forth on ten tables to be examined by any who wished, welcoming every amendment suggested by private persons and en-

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ιδιωτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν εὐαρέστησιν ἀπευθύνοντες τὰ γραφέντα. καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διετέλεσαν ἐν κοινῷ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν συνεδρεύοντες καὶ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην ποιούμενοι τῆς νομοθεσίας 6 ἔξετασιν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀποχρώντως ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς τὰ γραφέντα ἔχειν, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν βουλὴν συναγαγόντες οὐθενὸς ἔτι μεμφομένου τοῖς νόμοις προβούλευμα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκύρωσαν. ἐπειτα τὸν δῆμον καλέσαντες¹ εἰς τὴν λοχῖτιν ἐκκλησίαν ἱερομνημόνων τε καὶ οἰωνιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων παρόντων καὶ τὰ θεῖα ὡς νόμος ἔξηγησα- 7 μένων ἀνέδωκαν τοῖς λόχοις τὰς ψήφους. ἐπικυρώσαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς νόμους, στήλαις χαλκαῖς ἐγχαράξαντες αὐτοὺς ἐφεξῆς ἔθεσαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον ἐκλεξάμενοι τόπον. καὶ ἐπειδὴ βραχὺς ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς χρόνος ὁ λειπόμενος ἦν, συναγαγόντες τοὺς βουλευτὰς προσθεσαν ὑπὲρ ἀρχαιρεσίων οὐα χρῆ γενέσθαι σκοπεῖν.

LVIII. Πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐνίκησεν ἡ γνώμη τῶν παραινούντων δεκαδαρχίαν αὐθις ἀποδεῖξαι τῶν κοινῶν κυρίαν. ἀτελής τε² γάρ ἡ νομοθεσία ἐφαίνετο, ὡς ἂν ἔξ ὀλίγου συντεθεῖσα χρόνου, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἥδη κεκυρωμένοις, ἵνα ἔκοντες τε καὶ ἄκοντες ἐν αὐτοῖς μένοιεν, ἐδόκει δῆ³ τινος ἀρχῆς αὐτοκράτορος δεῖν. τὸ δὲ μάλιστα πεῖσαν αὐτοὺς προελέσθαι τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν ἦν τῶν δημάρχων κατάλυσις, 2 ὁ παντὸς μάλιστα ἐβούλοντο. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν κοινῷ σκοπουμένοις αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει, ἴδιᾳ δὲ οἱ πρωτεύοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο μεταπορεύεσθαι

¹ Kiessling : ἐκάλεσαν Ο.

² τε B : om. R.

³ Reiske : δέ O.

deavouring to correct them in such a manner as to give general satisfaction. For a long time they continued to consult in public with the best men and to make the strictest scrutiny of their code of laws. When they were satisfied with what was written, they first convened the senate and, no fresh objection being made to the laws, they got a preliminary decree passed concerning them. Then, having summoned the people to the centuriate assembly, the pontiffs, the augurs and the other priests being present and having directed the performance of the religious rites according to custom, they gave the centuries their ballots. And when the people too had ratified the laws, they caused them to be engraved on bronze pillars and set them up in order in the Forum, choosing the most conspicuous place. Then, as the remaining time of their magistracy was short, they assembled the senators and proposed for their consideration what kind of magistrates should be chosen at the next election.

LVIII. After a long debate the opinion of those prevailed who favoured choosing a decemvirate again to be the supreme power in the state. For not only was their code of laws manifestly incomplete, in view of the short time in which it had been compiled, but in the case of the laws already ratified some magistracy absolute in power seemed necessary in order that willingly or unwillingly people might abide by them. But the chief motive that induced the senate to give the preference to the decemvirate was the suppression of the tribunician power, which they desired above everything. This was the result of their public deliberations ; but in private the leading men of the senate resolved to canvass for this magis-

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τὴν ἀρχήν, δεδιότες μὴ ταραχώδεις τινὲς ἄνθρωποι τηλικαύτης ἔξουσίας λαβόμενοι κακόν τι μέγα ἐργάσωνται. ἀγαπητῶς δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ δεξαμένου καὶ μετὰ πλειστης προθυμίας ἐπιψηφίσαντος αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ δέκα ἄνδρες προεῖπον τὸν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων καιρόν, μετήεσαν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ ἐντιμότατοί τε καὶ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν πατρικίων.
 3 ἔνθα δὴ πολὺς ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπαινούμενος ἦν ὁ τῆς τότε δεκαδαρχίας ἡγεμὸν "Αππιος, καὶ πᾶς ὁ δημοτικὸς ὄχλος ἐκεīνον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡξίου κατέχειν ὡς οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἄμεινον ἡγησομένου. ὁ δ' ἀναίνεσθαι μὲν προσεποιεῖτο κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ ἀπολύειν αὐτὸν¹ ἡξίου λειτουργίας καὶ² ὄχληρᾶς καὶ ἐπιφθόνου. τελευτῶν δ' ὡς ἐλιπάρουν αὐτὸν ἅπαντες αὐτός τε ὑπέμενε μετιέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τῶν συμπαραγγελλόντων τοὺς ἀρίστους αἰτιασάμενος οὐχ ἥδεως πρὸς ἕαυτὸν ἔχειν διὰ τὸν φθόνον, τοῖς
 4 ἕαυτοῦ φίλοις συνηγωνίζετο φανερῶς. ἀποδείκνυται τε πάλιν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις λοχίτισι νομοθέτης τὸ δεύτερον· σὺν δ' αὐτῷ Κόιντος μὲν Φάβιος ὁ καλούμενος Οὐιβολανὸς ὁ τρὶς ὑπατεύσας, ἀνὴρ ἀνεπίληπτος εἰς τόδε χρόνου γενόμενος περὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πατρικίων, οὓς ἐκεīνος ἤσπάζετο, Μάρκος Κορνήλιος καὶ³ Μάρκος Σέργιος⁴ καὶ Λεύκιος Μηνύκιος καὶ Τίτος Ἀντώνιος καὶ Μάνιος Ραβολήιος,⁵ ἄνδρες οὐ πάνυ ἐπιφανεῖς· ἐκ δὲ τῶν δημοτικῶν Κόιντος Ποιτέλλιος καὶ Καίσων Δουέλλιος καὶ Σπόριος "Οππιος"⁶ προσελήφθησαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι πρὸς τοῦ Ἀππίου

¹ αὐτὸν B : om. R.

² καὶ B : om. R.

³ Μάρκος Κορνήλιος καὶ Sylburg : om. AB.

⁴ Sylburg : σερουέλιος AB.

tracy, fearing that certain turbulent spirits, if they gained such power, might cause some great mischief. The popular assembly having gladly received the resolution of the senate and confirmed it with the greatest enthusiasm, the decemvirs themselves appointed the time for the election ; and those among the patricians who were most distinguished for both their dignity and age stood candidates for the magistracy. Upon this occasion Appius, who was the chief of that decemvirate, received great praise from everybody and the whole crowd of plebeians desired to continue him in the magistracy, believing that no one else would govern better. He at first pretended to refuse it and asked them to excuse him from a service that was both troublesome and invidious ; but at last, when they all pressed him, he not only consented to seek the office himself, but also, accusing the best of the rival candidates of being ill disposed toward him through envy, openly espoused the candidacy of his friends. Thus he was again chosen in the centuriate assembly as a lawgiver, for the second time, and with him Quintus Fabius, surnamed Vibulanus, who had been thrice consul, a man adorned with every virtue and without reproach up to that time. From among the other patricians those favoured by Appius and chosen were Marcus Cornelius, Marcus Sergius, Lucius Minucius, Titus Antonius and Manius Rabuleius, men of no great distinction ; and from among the plebeians,¹ Quintus Poetelius, Caeso Duilius and Spurius Oppius. For these also were taken in by

¹ According to Livy (iv. 3, 17) the decemvirs were all patricians.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

κολακείας ἔνεκα τῶν δημοτικῶν, διδάσκοντος ὅτι δίκαιον ἐστὶ μιᾶς ἀρχῆς κατὰ πάντων ἀποδεικνυ-
5 μένης εἶναι τι καὶ τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἐν αὐτῇ. εὔδο-
κιμῶν δ' ἐφ' ἄπασι τούτοις καὶ δοκῶν κράτιστος
εἶναι βασιλέων τε καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡγησα-
μένων τῆς πόλεως παραλαμβάνει πάλιν τὴν ἀρ-
χὴν εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτόν. ταῦτα κατ' ἐκείνην
ἐπράχθη τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν ὑπὸ¹ Ρωμαίων, ἄλλο δ'
οὐθὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἀξιον.

LIX. Ἐν δὲ τῷ κατόπιν ἔτει παραλαβόντες τὴν
ὑπατικὴν ἔξουσίαν οἱ σὺν Ἀππίῳ Κλαυδίῳ δέκα
ἄνδρες εἰδοῖς μαῖαις (ἥγον δὲ τοὺς μῆνας κατὰ
σελήνην, καὶ συνέπιπτεν εἰς τὰς εἰδοὺς ἡ παν-
2 σέληνος), πρῶτα μὲν ὄρκια τεμόντες ἀπόρρητα τῷ
πλήθει συνθήκας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἔθεντο περὶ μηδενὸς
ἄλλήλοις ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ὅ τι δ' ἂν εἰς ἔξ αὐτῶν
δικαιώσῃ, τοῦθ' ἄπαντες ἡγεῖσθαι κύριον, τὴν τ'
ἀρχὴν καθέξειν διὰ βίου καὶ μηδένα παρήσειν ἔτερον
ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα, ἵστομοί τε ἄπαντες ἔσεσθαι καὶ
τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξειν δυναστείαν, βουλῆς μὲν ἡ δήμου
ψηφίσμασι σπανίως καὶ εἰς αὐτὰ τάναγκαῖα χρώ-
μενοι, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἔξουσίας
3 ποιοῦντες. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ᾧ παρα-
λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔδει τὴν ἀρχὴν, τοῖς θεοῖς προ-
θύσαντες ἀ νόμος (ἱερὰν δὲ ταύτην ἄγουσι Ρωμαῖοι
τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ παντὸς μάλιστα ὀπτεύονται μήτ'
ἀκοῦσαι μηδὲν ἀηδὲς ἐν αὐτῇ μήτ' ἰδεῖν) ἔωθεν
εὐθὺς ἔξήσαν οἱ δέκα τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλικῆς

¹ ὑπὸ B : om. R.

¹ For chaps. 59 f. cf. Livy iii. 35-38, 2.

Appius in order to flatter the plebeians ; he pointed out that, as only one magistracy was appointed to govern all the citizens, it was just that the populace also should be represented in it. Thus Appius, who was in great repute for all these actions and was looked upon as superior to both their kings and the annual magistrates who had governed the state, assumed the magistracy again for the following year. These were the things done by the Romans during that decemvirate, and there was nothing else worth relating.

LIX. The following year¹ Appius Claudius and the other decemvirs, having received the consular power on the ides of May (for the Romans reckoned their months by the course of the moon, and the full moon fell on the ides), first of all took a solemn oath, without the knowledge of the populace, and made a compact among themselves not to oppose one another in anything, but that whatever was approved by any one of them should be ratified by all the others ; and they agreed that they would hold their magistracy for life and admit no other person into the government, that they would all enjoy the same honours and possess the same power, and that they would rarely make use of the votes of the senate or populace and then only in absolutely necessary cases, but would do almost everything on their own authority. When the day came on which they were to enter upon their magistracy, after they had offered the usual initial sacrifices to the gods (for the Romans look upon this day as holy and particularly make it a point of religion neither to hear nor to see anything disagreeable during its course), the decemvirs set out early in the morning, each one accompanied by

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

4 ἔξουσίας ἄπαντες ἐπαγόμενοι. ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ὡς
 ἔμαθεν αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι φυλάττοντας τὸ δημοτικὸν
 ἔκεινο καὶ μέτριον σχῆμα τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὐδὲ δι-
 αμειβομένους τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς
 ὡς πρότερον, εἰς πολλὴν ἥλθε δυσθυμίαν καὶ κατ-
 5 ἥφειαν. ἐφόβουν θ' οἱ προσηρτημένοι ταῖς δέσμαις
 τῶν ράβδων πελέκεις, οὓς ἔφερον οἱ προηγούμενοι
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἑκάστου δώδεκα ὅντες ἀναστέλλοντες
 ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν πληγαῖς τὸν ὄχλον, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ
 τῶν βασιλέων ἐγένετο πρότερον. κατελύθη γὰρ
 εὐθὺς τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν μονάρ-
 χων ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς δημοτικοῦ Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου τὴν
 ἔκεινων ἔξουσίαν μεταλαβόντος, ὡς πάντες οἱ μετ'
 ἔκεινον ὕπατοι καλοῦ πράγματος δόξαντι ἄρξαι τὰ
 ὅμοια πράττοντες οὐκέτι ταῖς δέσμαις τῶν ράβδων
 προσήρτων τοὺς πελέκεις ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὰς στρα-
 τείας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἔξόδους τὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.
 6 πόλεμον δ' ἔξαγοντες ὑπερόριον ἦ τῶν ὑπηκόων
 πράγματα ἐπισκεπτόμενοι,¹ τότε καὶ τοὺς πελέκεις
 ταῖς ράβδοις προσελάμβανον, ἵνα τὸ τῆς ὄψεως
 φοβερόν, ὡς κατ' ἔχθρῶν ἦ δούλων γινόμενον,
 ἥκιστα φαίνηται τοῖς πολίταις ἐπαχθές.

LX. Τοῦτο δὴ θεασαμένοις ἄπασιν, ὁ τῆς βασιλι-
 κῆς ἔξουσίας σημεῖον ἐνομίζετο εἶναι, πολὺ παρ-
 ειστήκει δέος, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἀπολαλεκέναι νομίζουσι
 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δέκα βασιλεῖς ἐλομένοις ἀνθ'
 ἐνός. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον καταπληξάμενοι τοὺς
 ὄχλους οἱ δέκα ἄνδρες καὶ γνόντες ὅτι δεῖ φόβῳ τὸ
 λοιπὸν αὐτῶν² ἄρχειν, ἐταιρίαν ἔκαστοι συνῆγον
 ἐπιλεγόμενοι τοὺς θραυστάτους τῶν νέων καὶ σφί-
 2 σιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν

¹ ἐπισκεπτόμενοι R : ἐπισκεψόμενοι B, Jacoby.

the insignia of royalty. When the people saw that they no longer preserved the same democratic and modest form of leadership or passed on the insignia of royalty from one to another, as before, they fell into great despair and dejection. They were terrified by the axes attached to the bundles of rods which were borne by the lictors, twelve of whom preceded each of the decemvirs and with blows forced the throng back from the streets, as had been the practice formerly under the kings. This custom, however, had been abolished, immediately after the expulsion of the kings, by Publius Valerius, a friend of the populace, who succeeded to their power, and all the consuls after him, following the good example he was felt to have set, no longer attached the axes to the bundles of rods except when they went out of the city either upon military expeditions or upon other occasions ; but when they set out on a foreign war or inspected the affairs of their subjects, they then added the axes to the rods. This was in order that the terrifying sight, as one employed against their enemies or slaves, might give as little offence as possible to the citizens.

LX. When, therefore, they all saw this token, which was considered to be a mark of the kingly power, they were in great fear, as I said, believing that they had lost their liberty and chosen ten kings instead of one. The decemvirs having by this means struck terror into the masses and made up their mind that they must rule them by fear thereafter, each of them formed a faction, choosing from among the youth those who were most daring and most attached to their persons. Now the fact that most

² αὐτῶν om. B.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἀπόρων καὶ τῶν ταπεινῶν ταῖς τύχαις τοὺς πλείους φανῆναι τυραννικῆς κόλακας ἔξουσίας, τοῦ κοινοῦ συμφέροντος ἀλλαξαμένους τὰς αὐτῶν ὡφελείας, οὕτε παράδοξον οὕτ' ἀνέλπιστον ἦν· τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων εὑρεθῆναι συχνοὺς ἔχοντάς τι καὶ ἐπὶ πλούτῳ καὶ ἐπ' εὐγενείᾳ μέγα φρονεῖν τοὺς ὑπομένοντας συγκαταλύειν τοῖς δεκαδάρχοις¹ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερίαν, τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν ἄπασιν εἶναι ἐδόκει. οἱ δὲ² πάσαις κολακεύοντες ἥδοναῖς, ὅποσαι πεφύκασιν ἀνθρώπων κρατεῖν, κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν ἥρχον τῆς πόλεως, βουλὴν μὲν ἥ δῆμον ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ μερίδι τιθέμενοι, πάντων δὲ αὐτοὶ νομοθέται τε καὶ δικασταὶ γινόμενοι, καὶ³ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτινύντες τῶν πολιτῶν, πολλοὺς δ' ἀφαιρούμενοι τὰς οὐσίας 3 ἀδίκως. ἵνα δ' αὐτοῖς εὐπρεπῶς τὰ γινόμενα ἔχῃ, παράνομα καὶ δεινὰ ὅντα, ὡς δὴ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ πραττόμενα, δικαστήρια ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ χρήματι ἀπειδίδοσαν· ἥσαν δὲ οἵ τε κατήγοροι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐκ τῶν συγκατασκευαζόντων τὴν τυραννίδα ὑποπεμπόμενοι, καὶ τὰ⁴ δικαστήρια ἐκ τῶν ἔταιρων ἀποδεικνύμενα, οἱ διημείβοντο ἀλλήλοις κατα- 4 χαριζόμενοι τὰς δίκας. πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων καὶ οὐ τὰ ἐλαχίστου ἄξια ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν οἱ δέκα ἔκρινον, ὥστ' ἥναγκάζοντο οἱ μειονεκτοῦντες τῷ δικαίῳ προσνέμειν ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἔταιρίαις, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς ἔχειν, καὶ ἐγένετο σὺν χρόνῳ πλεῖον τοῦ ὑγιαίνοντος ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ διεφθαρμένον καὶ νοσοῦν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἥξιον ἔτι μένειν ἐντὸς τείχους οἷς τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν

¹ δεκαδάρχοις B : δεκάρχοις R.

² οἱ δὲ Jacoby : οἱ A Bb, δ Ba.

³ καὶ deleted by Reiske.

men of no means and low condition showed themselves flatterers of a tyrannical power and preferred their private advantages to the public good, was neither extraordinary nor surprising ; but that there were found many even of the patricians who, though they had some reason, on the basis of either wealth or birth, to feel great pride, nevertheless consented to join with the decemvirs in destroying the liberty of their country, that seemed an amazing thing to everybody. But the decemvirs, by humouring people with all the pleasures that are calculated to subdue mankind, governed the commonwealth with great ease, holding the senate and people in no account, but becoming themselves both the lawgivers and the judges in all matters, putting many of the citizens to death and stripping others of their estates unjustly. In order, however, that their acts, illegal and cruel as they were, might have a specious appearance and seem to be carried out in accordance with justice, they appointed courts to try every matter ; but the accusers, chosen from among the instruments of their tyranny, were suborned by the decemvirs themselves and the courts filled with men of their factions, who gratified one another by turns in rendering their decisions. Many complaints, and those not the ones of least importance, the decemvirs decided by themselves. Hence the litigants who had less right on their side were under the necessity of attaching themselves to the factions, since they could not otherwise be sure of success ; and in time the corrupted and infected element in the city became more numerous than the sound element. For those to whom the doings of the decemvirs

⁴ τὰ added by Kiessling.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

δεκαδάρχων ἀνιαρὰ ἦν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τοὺς
 ἄγρους τὸν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων σκοποῦντες χρόνον ὡς
 ἀποθησομένων τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν τὰς δυναστείας,
 ὅταν τὸν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκτελέσωσι χρόνον, καὶ ἀπο-
 5 δειξόντων ἑτέρας ἀρχάς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν "Ἀππιον
 τοὺς λοιποὺς συγγράψαντες νόμους ἐν δέλτοις δυ-
 σὶ καὶ ταύτας ταῖς πρότερον ἔξενεχθείσαις προσ-
 θηκαν· ἐν αἷς καὶ ὅδε ὁ¹ νόμος ἦν,² μὴ ἔξειναι
 τοῖς πατρικίοις πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἐπιγαμίας
 συνάψαι—δι’ οὐδέν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἑτερον ἢ τὸ μὴ
 συνελθεῖν εἰς ὅμονοιαν τὰ ἔθνη γάμων ἐπαλλαγαῖς
 6 καὶ οἰκειοτήτων κοινωνίαις συγκερασθέντα. ὡς
 δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἐπέστη χρόνος, πολλὰ
 χαίρειν φράσαντες τοῖς τε πατρίοις ἐθισμοῖς καὶ
 τοῖς νεωστὶ γραφεῖσι νόμοις, οὕτε βουλῆς ψήφισμα
 ποιήσαντες οὕτε δῆμου διέμειναν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
 ἀρχῆς.

¹ ὁ Bb : om. R.

² ἦν om. A.

were obnoxious would not consent even to remain any longer within the city's walls, but retired to the country while awaiting the time for the election of magistrates, in the expectation that the decemvirs would resign their power after completing their year's term and would appoint other magistrates. As for Appius and his colleagues, they caused the remaining laws to be inscribed on two tables and added them to those they had published before. Among these new laws was this one, that it should not be lawful for the patricians to contract marriages with the plebeians—a law made for no other reason, in my opinion, than to prevent the two orders from coming together in harmony when once blended together by intermarriages and ties of affinity. And when the time for the election of magistrates was at hand, the decemvirs bade a hearty farewell to both the ancestral customs and the newly-written laws, and without asking for a vote of either senate or people, continued in the same magistracy.

INDEX

- AEBUTIUS, L., 147 f., 185
Aemilius Mamercus, L., 45-
53, 57, 91-97
— Tiberius, 91, 97, 105 f.,
121 f.
Aequians, 41, 85 f., 105-161,
191, 195 f., 231-255, 271,
295, 309-315, 321-327, 345
Algidum, 235
Alienus, L., 329 and n.
Antiates, 111, 121-129, 133 f.
Antium, 111 f., 119-123, 131-
135, 233, 237, 313
Antonius, T., 361
Aquilius, C., 289 and n.
Archidemides, archon, 131
Aternius, A., 327 n.
Athens, 151, 339, 347; ar-
chons at, 45, 109, 163, 255,
341
Aventine, 273-277
- CAEDICHIUS, L., 15 f.
Callias, archon, 255
Campus Martius, 63 and n. 2
Capitol, 83, 209 f., 217, 231,
293
Cassius, Sp., 47, 91, 297 f.
Ceres, 307
Chaerephanes, archon, 341
Chares, archon, 45
Cincinnatus. See Quintius
Claudius Sabinus, App., 63,
267 f.
- — — App., son of pre-
ceding, 63-91, 95-105
— — — App., son of pre-
ceding, 349-363, 369
— — — C., 189, 201-
209, 215 f., 221 f., 267 f.,
277
Cloelii, Roman *gens*, 305 f.
Cloelius Gracchus, 241-251
Colline gate, 153
Considius, Q., 11
Corbio, 251, 271, 277
Cornelius, L., 231, 237 f.
— M., 361
Cremera, 13, 121
Crustumrium, 255
Curiatius, P., 341 n.
- DANDES, 45
Diana, temple of, 277
Dius Fidius, temple of, 129
Duilius, Caeso, 361
- ECETRA, 235
Esquiline gate, 153
- FABII, Roman *gens*, 13, 121
Fabius Vibulanus, Q., 121-
127, 131 f., 231-239, 245 f.,
361; cf. 155 n.
Fidenae, 241, 255
Forum Romanum, 49 f., 55,
59, 67, 105, 189 f., 213,
303, 325, 359

INDEX

- Furius, L., 43, 47-51, 123
 — P., 53, 139 f.; *cf.* 147
 — Q., 155 and n.
 — Ser., 133-145
 — Sp., 345
- GABINI**, 151
- Genucius, Cn., 45-49, 299
 — T., decemvir, 349, 353 f.
 — T., tribune, 11
- Gracchus. See Cloelius
- Greeks, 339 f., 355 f.
- HERDONIUS**, App., 209-221, 293
- Hernicans, 41, 123, 135, 149 f., 155 f., 215, 233
- Horatius, C., 255-267, 271
 — P., 341 and n., 355
- ICILIUS**, L., 271-279, 301
 — M., 331
 —, father of preceding, 331
- Italy, 61, 339, 347
- JANICULUM**, 3 n., 9
- Julius Iulus, C., 355
 — — Vopiscus, 45-53, 57
- LAETORIUS**, C., 75-83
- Larissa, 341
- Latins, 41, 123 f., 129, 133, 149, 157, 215, 231 f., 241, 255
- Lucretius, L., 153-161, 185
- Lycus, 341
- MAMILIUS**, L., 219
- Manlius, A., 43-49, 341, 347, 355
- Marcius Coriolanus, 71 n.
- Menenius, Agrippa, 13
 — L., 345-351
 — T., 7, 11-15, 35
- Minucius, L., 239, 245, 251, 361
 — Q., 255 f., 271
- NAUTIUS**, C., 15, 41 f., 239, 245, 253
- Numicius Priscus, T., 109 f.
- OPPIUS**, Sp., 361
- Ortona, 255
- PARMENIDES**, Olympic victor, 109
- Phrasicles, archon, 163
- Pinarius, L., 53, 57
- Poetelius, Q., 361
- Polymnastus, 258
- Pometini, 295
- Porta Carmentalis, 211
 — Collina, 153
 — Esquilina, 153
- Postumii, Roman *gens*, 305 f.
- Postumius Albinus, Sp., 125, 129, 341, 347, 355
 — Albus, A., 133, 137, 143 f.
- Publius (Publilius), Volero, 51 f., 57-65
- QUINTILIUS**, Sex., 341, 345
- Quintius Capitolinus, T., 63-67, 81-87, 113-123, 131 f., 137 f., 143, 245-249
 — Cincinnatus, L., 175-181, 223-231, 247-253, 257 f., 267 f.
- Caeso, son of preceding, 175-187, 191-197, 207, 223
- Quirinal, 129

INDEX

- RABULEIUS, M'., 361
 Rome, *passim*
 Romilius, T., 279-283, 287,
 303, 313-319, 323, 327-341,
 355
- SABINES, 35 f., 41 f., 105 f.,
 111 f., 123, 209 f., 239 f.,
 245, 253 f., 271, 295, 345
- Sacred Mount, 285
- Sempronii, Roman *gens*,
 305 f.
- Sergius, M., 361
- Servilius, Ser. (error for
 Sp.?), 3-11, 15-35, 39
 — Priscus, P., 147 f., 185
 — — Q., 113, 125, 129
- Sestius, P., 347-351, 355
- Sibylline oracles, 169, 189
- Siccius Dentatus, L., 289-
 301, 307, 311-333, 339 f.,
 355
 — T., 289 f.
- Statius, T., 15
- Sulpicius Camerinus, Ser.,
 163-173, 185, 341, 347, 355
- TARPEIAN Rock, 53, 273, 299
- Tarpeius, Sp., 327, 333 f.
- Tarquinius, L., 247
 — Superbus, 129
- Terentius (Terentilius), C.,
 165
- Terminius (error for Ater-
 nius), A., 327, 333 f.
- Theagenides, archon, 109
- Tiber, 35, 151, 187, 209, 343
- Titius, Sex., 155
- Torymbas, 163
- Tusculans, 151, 217 f., 231-
 235, 241 f., 309 f.: *cf.* 325
- Tusculum, 159, 231-235, 241,
 251, 309
- Tyrrhenia (Etruria), 41 f.,
 187
- Tyrrhenians (Etruscans), 7 f.,
 19 f., 35-39, 295
- URBINIA, a Vestal, 55
- VALERIUS, M., 271-277
 — Publicola, L., 91 f., 97,
 105 f.
 — — P., 365
 — — P., son of preced-
 ing, 15, 35 f., 83 f., 189,
 215-221
- Veientes, 35-43
- Veii, 9
- Verginius, A., legate, 331
 — A., tribune, 165, 179 f.,
 187, 193-209, 239, 255 f.,
 261-271
 — Caelimontanus, A., 3-9,
 19, 33, 109 f., 123
 — Proculus, 47, 91
 — Sp., consul, 271-277
 — Sp., a youth, 331
- Veturius, C., 279-283, 287,
 303, 323, 327 f., 333
 — Geminus, T., 153-161,
 185, 355
- Volscians, 41 f., 85-89, 101,
 109-119, 135 f., 143, 149 f.,
 155-161, 191, 195 f., 211,
 227, 233-237, 291, 295, 345
- Volscius, L., 183 f.
 — M., 181-187
- Volumnius, P., 163-173, 185
- XENOPHON, Olympic victor,
 129

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